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Motivational Orientations of American and Russian Learners of French as a Foreign Language

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**MOTIVATIONAL ORIENTATIONS OF AMERICAN AND RUSSIAN
LEARNERS OF FRENCH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE**

by

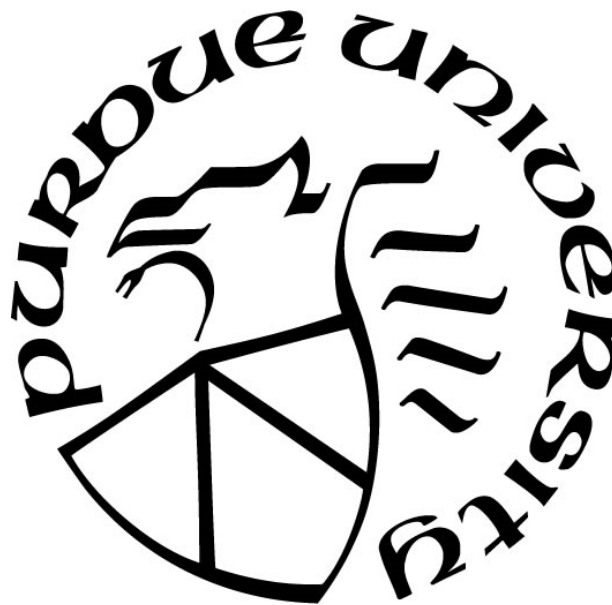
Zoia Vinogradova

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of Purdue University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy



Department of Languages and Cultures

West Lafayette, Indiana

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AE	Aesthetic Factors
CUL	Culture orientation
EM	Emigration orientation
FR	Friendship orientation
IN	Instrumental orientation
IS	Ideal L2 Self orientation
KN	Knowledge orientation
PE	Peers' Encouragement orientation
SOC	Sociability orientation
TR	Travelling orientation

ABSTRACT

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Title: Motivational Orientations of American and Russian Learners of French as a Foreign Language

Major Professor: Mariko Wei and Colleen Neary-Sundquist

This study seeks to examine and compare motivational orientations of French learners across different dimensions: cultural background (USA vs. Russia), educational modality and age (college students vs. private courses learners), gender, and time of studying foreign language. 613 American and Russian learners of French completed the questionnaire addressing 10 motivational factors to study French language. Despite differences in nationality, age, educational background and learning experience, all groups of participants produced nearly identical motivational rankings. The rankings are topped by the Travelling orientation, which seems to be universally appealing, followed by the orientations within the Idealistic motivational cluster (Aesthetic Factor, Culture, Knowledge, and Ideal Self). The Pragmatic motivational cluster (Instrumental orientation, which is sometimes coupled to Emigration and Friendship dimensions) is by far less important. This disposition is also confirmed by the qualitative data. With regard to specific orientations it has been found that US learners score consistently higher in Sociability motivation, whereas Russians score higher in the Peers' Encouragement and Aesthetic categories. In regard to gender differences, this study shows that male students appear to be more personable, e.g. among American learners males consistently outscore females in the Friendship category. Referring to age differences, it was found that the overall level of motivation tends to decline with age.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

The need to learn foreign languages is an ongoing challenge facing cultured humanity. The processes of economic and political globalization lead to a situation where English language occupies an increasingly prominent place in university curricula all over the world (see Jenkins, 2015; Seidlhofer, 2013). This trend is understandable but nevertheless it can have alarming consequences. It is probably an overstatement but could it happen that in the future people outside English-speaking world will no longer study any foreign languages except English, while native English speakers will lose any incentive to learn foreign languages? In the Anglophone countries, such as Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and the USA, student enrollment in courses of French, German, and other languages steadily declines year after year:

Modern Language Association's report attributes at least part of the decline in enrollments to departments and programs shutting down entirely. The number of institutions reporting 5 of the 15 most commonly taught languages has fallen in recent decades. The number of institutions reporting enrollments in German, for example, was 1,356 in 1990. Today, it's 1,074. MLA assumes the missing data indicate program closures. Declines in overall enrollment in French, Ancient Greek, biblical Hebrew and Russian coincide with drops in reported enrollment data for 2013, the report says (Flaherty C. (2015, February, 11) Not a Small World After All. *Inside Higher Ed.*)

The problem of embracing foreign languages is relevant also for such vast and globally engaged countries as USA and Russia. Until this day most Americans speak only English and most Russians speak only Russian.¹ In this situation it is particularly important to know more about the motivation that stirs interest of American and Russian students who choose to study “not global” languages.

¹ In 2010 U.S. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan pointed out that only 18% of Americans reported speaking a language other than English. In Russia the sociological survey in 2008 showed that only 15% of Russians report speaking a foreign language fluently, while 76% of the population declared that they did not speak any foreign language.

French is one of the languages that does not offer any obvious socio-economic benefits but still remains traditionally popular. It is ranked as the second-most-studied language (after Spanish) in the US (Ruiz, 2008), while it ranks third (behind English and German) in Russia (Dobrynina, 2013). Motivation to learn French is particularly intriguing since this language 1) is not a kindred language neither for English nor for Russian languages, 2) is not associated with any particularly strong economic ties and 3) is not used in everyday life. The motivational factors involved must be deeper and more complex than simply a desire to build up one's resume and improve job prospects. In the proposed study I seek to examine and compare the motivational orientations of American and Russian learners of French. In doing so, I plan to investigate (1) whether there are any differences/similarities in motivational orientations between French students from the US and Russia and how these differences could be explained; 2) whether motivational orientations depend on gender factor; 3) how motivational orientations are different for college and private courses students in both countries; (3) whether there is a correlation between the specific motivational orientations and the age of the respondents.

Better understanding of the attraction of French language for learners of different nationality, age and learning experience will help to design better instruction strategies, tailored to the perceived needs of learners, and ultimately increase the success of language teaching.

1.2. Problem statement

Over the last several decades, the concept of Language Learning Motivation (LLM) has been widely researched in the Second Language Acquisition (SLA) literature. LLM, as well as language aptitude, have been recognized as the most influential factors in SLA as they show the strongest correlation with the language learning achievement (Dörnyei & Skehan, 2003). Many theoretical constructs and motivational systems have been proposed to describe different affective, psychological, and cognitive motivational variables involved in LLM (Gardner, 1972, Deci & Ryan, 1985, Crookes & Schmidt, 1991, Dörnyei, 2009). However, the results of LLM research are rarely integrated into the domain of applied linguistics and remain largely unused in the context of everyday classroom needs (Dörnyei, 2003). The field needs more research focusing on concrete

and sustainable sources of LLM to ensure learners' continuing involvement in language learning. In response to this need a number of qualitative or case studies have been conducted seeking to explore learners' interest in a specific foreign language (Ushioda, 2001; Williams et al., 2002; Busse & Williams, 2010).

In this sense a motivation for learning French language has received relatively little attention. The exceptions are Canadian studies (Gardner & Masgoret, 2004; Goldberg & Noels, 2006; MacIntyre & Blackie, 2012). One has to bear in mind, however, that Canada is a bilingual country with rather unique language sensitivities. The results may not apply to other countries where people study French as a foreign language, such as the USA and Russia, and may not necessarily be relevant in a broader Foreign Language Acquisition context.

Other studies involving the French language often sought to examine its perception by school/college students in comparison to other foreign languages (see Alalou, 2001; Dörnyei & Csizer, 2002; Williams, Burden & Lanvers, 2002 etc.) All these studies focused on students' attitudes toward different languages. However, to my knowledge, there have been no motivational studies that would compare motivation to learn French among students from different countries. It is expected that such a study could reveal the common and possibly universal motivational drivers and thus help to develop more effective curricula and teaching materials.

It is also worth noting that the majority of motivational studies published so far involve school or college students. Post-college learners who study languages voluntarily in private courses² rarely attracted the attention of researchers (Schmidt, Boraie & Kassabgy, 1996; Kormos & Csizer, 2008). Yet this is undoubtedly a very interesting area. In schools or universities, language requirements are oftentimes imposed on students. The motivation level is often low or otherwise dictated by a desire to earn a good grade in class. In contrast, those students who attend private courses are typically strongly motivated and determined. In many cases their motivation is purely intrinsic.

² The term "private courses" is taken to mean commercial or not-for-profit courses, operating outside the school or university setting.

Understanding the mechanisms of intrinsic motivation is particularly important since they are the most efficient drivers of language learning.

Therefore, the current study aims to contribute to the field by filling the gaps in the existing knowledge and, specifically, comparing the motivational orientations of French language learners across different dimensions: cultural background (USA vs. Russia), educational modality (college students vs. private courses learners), gender, age, and time of studying foreign language.

1.3. Cultural background

In the USA and Russia studying foreign languages is a part of the national educational policy. Despite the differences in the academic systems, both American and Russian educational institutions encourage their students to learn foreign languages. The majority of states in the USA require two years of foreign language education or a minimum of two academic credits as a prerequisite for high school graduation³. In Russia all students are required to study a foreign language through middle and high school⁴. In both countries young men and women usually continue studying a foreign language in college, where the corresponding credit requirements depend on the choice of major and minor subjects.⁵ The selection of foreign languages in the two countries is similar: French, German, and Spanish are among the most popular choices. However, the priority languages are different: English is dominant in Russia, while Spanish leads the field in the USA. In regard to the French language, in both countries there has been a decline in teaching French: in favor of English (in Russia) and Spanish or Chinese (in the USA)⁶.

The program of the foreign language courses tends to be rather different between the USA and Russia. American universities typically seek to develop communicative skills and practice colloquial language. In Russia, college students are expected to study

³ States with or Considering High School Foreign Language Graduation Requirements. Revised March 2010. Retrieved from: <http://www.ncssfl.org/docs/>

⁴ Instruction of Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation. December 17, 2010 № 1897. Federal state educational standards for general education.

⁵ In the USA, however, students do not need to continue studying foreign language in college if they completed the language requirements in school (the specific requirements differ depending on the college).

⁶ Dillon S. (2010, January 20). Foreign Languages Fade in Class – Except Chinese. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com>

foreign language as a part of their professional preparation, e.g. they often practice translation of research articles or scientific texts.

1.4. Methodological constructs

For the first time the term ‘motivational orientations’ appeared in AMTB (Attitude Motivation Test Battery (Gardner & Lambert, 1972)) – the principal instrument of Gardner’s socioeducational model of SLA. AMTB aimed to measure three major components of the model including 1) integrativeness, 2) attitudes towards the learning situation, and 3) motivation. AMTB also employs two scales to measure Integrative and Instrumental orientations, representing “reasons for learning a second language” (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). The Integrative orientation reflects the desire to identify with the members of the target language community. Instrumental orientation stems from practical and pragmatic motives to learn a language.

Later the term “orientations” was defined as “goals” in motivational literature (Gardner & Tremblay, 1995; Belmechri & Hummel, 1998; Dörnyei, 2003). The difference between motivation and orientation lies in the fact that a “student can demonstrate a particular orientation but not be highly motivated to achieve that goal” (Oxford, & Shearin, 1994, p. 13).

Among the two orientations proposed by Gardner (Gardner & Lambert, 1959), the first one – Integrative orientation – was widely criticized in the motivational literature. This concept seems to be inspired by the unique language situation in Canada, where many individuals want to become fully accepted into French- or English-speaking community. I tend to agree with the critics that “in the absence of a salient L2 group in the learners’ environment (as is often the case in foreign language learning contexts in which the L2 is primarily learned as a school subject), the identification can be generalized to the cultural and intellectual values associated with the language” (Dörnyei, 1990). As for the Instrumental orientation, this construct has been widely recognized and validated in different motivational studies (see for example Schmidt, Boraie & Kassabgy, 1996; Dörnyei & Csizer, 2002; Busse & Williams, 2010).

The classification of motivational orientations has been expanded and revised through the course of years. One of the earliest attempts to expand the range of SLA

goals was made in 1983 by Clément and Kruidenier. These Canadian researchers tested 37 different reasons to study foreign language as manifested across 1) different ethnicity (French vs. English), 2) milieu (unicultural vs. multicultural) and 3) target second language (French or English vs. Spanish). By means of factor analysis they were able to identify four universal motivational orientations relevant for all groups of participants: Friendship, Knowledge, Travel, and Instrumental orientations. Later these findings were tested and confirmed by Noels, Clément, Pelletier & Vallerand (2000) within the framework of their Self-Determination Theory (SDT).

Today, in the rapidly evolving SLA landscape, it should be useful to revisit and reexamine these results. In order to confirm or refute the universal nature of the four motivational orientations proposed by Clément and Kruidenier, the current study aims to test them in a different learning setting where they have never been evaluated before: among American and Russian learners of French.

Another motivational orientation that has been included in the current study is the Ideal L2 Self factor which was first proposed by Dörnyei as a part of his Motivational Self System (Dörnyei, 2009). Ideal L2 Self represents the learners' vision of self as a person who can fluently speak foreign language, thus impressing his/her friends, etc. The validity of this concept was recently confirmed by many motivational studies conducted in different cultural settings: Hungary (Kormos & Csizer, 2008), Japan, China and Iran (Taguchi *et al.*, 2009), China (Liu, 2012), and UK (Busse and Williams, 2010; Oakes, 2013). However, to the best of my knowledge this concept has never been tested in either in the USA, or in Russia. The present study seeks to fill this gap.

In combination with other orientations (see below), Travel, Knowledge, Friendship, Instrumental orientation, and Ideal L2 Self can reveal the most important goals of French learners of different nationalities, age and educational setting. It is anticipated that the knowledge of the most widely shared and stable sources of SLA motivation should provide valuable input to language instructors, informing the choice of curriculum and development of optimal teaching strategies.

1.5. Current study

In the current study I intend to sample motivational orientations across different dimensions: cultural background (USA vs. Russia), educational modality (college students vs. private courses' learners), age, gender, and time of studying French language. In doing so, I hope to identify the invariant, "universal" components of French learning motivation, which are valid for all constituencies. Toward this goal, the proposed study addresses the following questions:

- 1) What motivational orientations are considered to be most important by American and Russian learners of French? Are they similar for both countries? If not, how the differences could be explained?
- 2) Are there any significant differences in motivational orientations to study French between college students and private courses' learners?
- 3) Do motivational orientations for learning French depend on the gender factor?
- 4) How do motivational orientations for learning French correlate with the learners' age?
- 5) Do motivational orientations change with the time of studying French?

1.6. Summary of Chapter 1

This chapter briefly discusses the following topics: (1) the importance of motivational research focusing on "not global" languages, such as French; (2) impetus of the current study, namely a desire to identify "universal motivational drivers" for studying French across diverse language-learning populations; (3) brief overview of the previous motivational literature that demonstrates the lack of studies focusing on motives of French learners; (4) methodological LLM constructs based on the previous findings of Clément & Kruidenier and Dörnyei; (5) the objective and research questions of the current study. In the next chapter, I will review the existing body of SLA motivation research with special emphasis on 1) French language learning motivation; 2) gender differences in the perception of French; 3) the influence of learners' age on motivation, and 4) cross-cultural LLM studies.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter will discuss the existing body of literature which is relevant to the current study. Because the investigator compares language learning motivation of American and Russian learners, she included in this review the literature on cross-cultural motivation studies. Since this study involves French language, all papers that discuss motivation to learn French have also been revised. In addition, the author surveyed previous studies reporting on different methods to assess language learning motivation; these reports provided a basis for the author's own system of motivational orientations. Finally, to develop the background for two of the proposed research questions, the researcher presented a summary of literature findings on gender differences in perception of French and age factor in language learning motivation.

2.2. Language Learning Motivation

Language learning motivation has been discussed in SLA literature for over 50 years. Over this time period many different perspectives (that will be discussed below) on LLM have been proposed. In my opinion none of them should be dismissed as out-of-date—rather, every emerging new model seeks to expand, augment, and refine the previous views.

The social psychological period. At the end of the 1950s, Canadian scientists R.C. Gardner and W.E. Lambert developed the social psychological approach which remained for at least thirty years the most influential model in the field of SLA (Gardner & Lambert, 1959). Gardner and co-workers were the first to focus on the relationship between the learner's attitudes toward the target language (or respective language community) and his/her success in second language learning. The socio-educational model proposed by Gardner sees the roots of motivation in the socio-cultural milieu that forms the individual's cultural beliefs and ultimately leads to emergence of the integrative motive. Integrative motivation is seen as a necessary condition for successful L2 attainment. The distinction between integrative and instrumental orientation still

remains one of the cornerstones of the SLA research. Integrative orientation is identified with the learner's interest in the target language community and culture. Instrumental orientation is associated with more pragmatic goals, such as securing a good job or getting a good grade in class.

Gardner's model gained wide recognition and inspired many studies in the area of language learning motivation. After some time, however, it became apparent that these studies led to somewhat contradictory results, i.e. it was found that 1) integrative orientation could have a negative correlation with the level of proficiency; 2) instrumental orientation sometimes was a better predictor of success in L2 acquisition (Chihara & Oller, 1978; Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Lukmani, 1972; Oller, Hudson, & Liu, 1977).

Cognitive perspective in LLM. By the early 1990s a number of critiques appeared in the literature expounding on Gardnerian view of motivation (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991; Oxford & Shearin, 1994). The intention of the critics was to expand Gardner's model using the constructs from cognitive theories of motivation (Giles' accommodation theory, Keller's education-oriented theory, need theories, instrumentality theories, equity theories, reinforcement theories, goal-setting theory etc.).

But even before the high-impact articles of Crookes and Schmidt and Oxford and Shearin, there were some notable attempts to expand on Gardner's model. One of such contributions was a source of inspiration for the current study: in 1983, Clément and Kruidenier reexamined the Gardner's approach. The researchers argued that the contradictions encountered in the previous motivational studies can be explained by the ambiguities in defining motivational orientations and by the influence of the milieu on the data acquisition process. In attempt to clarify these issues, the authors investigated the influence of ethnicity (French vs. English), milieu (unicultural vs. multicultural) and target second language (French or English vs. Spanish) on the formation of motivational orientations (Clément & Kruidenier, 1983). The subjects were 871 Canadian students divided into eight groups according to the combination of these three attributes. The list of 37 possible reasons to learn a second language has been offered to the participants. The collected data were factor-analyzed, thus identifying six fundamental orientations. Four of these orientations proved to be common among all groups – these are the

orientations associated with friendship, travel, knowledge and material benefits (Instrumental). The integrative orientation was found to be important only in the multicultural setting among the members of a dominant group (the multicultural Anglophones residing in Ottawa who expressed interest in learning Spanish). These observations led the authors to conclude that “learning a second language in order to identify with valued members of another group apparently requires individuals who are assured of their first language and culture and have immediate access to the target language” (p.287).

Of note, Clément and Kruidenier did not offer any new theoretical framework to rationalize their findings; they also did not elaborate on the key concept of “orientation” that they have adapted from Gardner’s work. According to Gardner, the concept of orientation is distinct from that of motivation, i.e. a student can be aware of a certain type of goals associated with language learning without necessarily being motivated to achieve these goals (Gardner & Tremblay, 1995). In contrast to Gardner, who limited his analyses to integrative and instrumental orientations, Clément and Kruidenier replaced the integrative orientation with four more tangible constructs related to knowledge, friendship, and travel. Being conducted long before the “cognitive revolution” in the LLM research, the study by Clément and Kruidenier has had little impact on the mainstream motivation research despite its comprehensive and insightful character. However, the importance of their findings was later confirmed in the context of self-determination theory.

Self-determination theory (SDT) (Deci & Ryan, 1985) suggests that learner’s success depends on the degree to which his/her behavior is self-determined or self-motivated. Self-determination grows from person’s innate psychological needs. The most important of them were identified as the needs for competence, relatedness, and autonomy reflecting “the natural propensities for growth and integration, as well as for constructive social development and personal well-being” (Ryan & Deci, 2000). The key concept of SDT is the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. These concepts were broadly recognized in LLM research (see Brown, 1994; Dickinson, 1995; Dörnyei, 1994; Schmidt, Boraie & Kassabgy, 1996; Williams & Burden, 1997). Intrinsic motivation assumes that activity is initiated for its own sake, because it is interesting and

pleasant. Extrinsic motivation, on the other hand, assumes that there is an external stimulus, such as praise, money, or some other type of reward. Intrinsic motivation is viewed as the manifestation of the person's free will; as such, it is deemed to be the best predictor of learning success. Today, the dichotomy between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation became a well-recognized alternative to Gardner's model of L2 motivation. Many studies focus on intrinsic motivation which draws from enjoyment, pleasure, and satisfaction of language learning (Schmidt & Watanabe, 2001; Noels, 2001; Noels, Clément & Pelletier, 2001). However, the concept of intrinsic motivation is rather broad. It does not give any specific answer as to what makes L2 studies interesting and pleasant for a given group of learners.

The attempt to integrate SDT approach with the prior findings of Clément and Kruidenier has been made by Noels, Clément, Pelletier and Vallerand (2000). These investigators sought to determine how the paradigm of intrinsic/extrinsic motivation corresponds with the four previously found motivational orientations. The study was conducted in the University of Ottawa among English-speaking students learning French. The questionnaire developed by the researchers consisted of three parts: 1) items representing four motivational orientations – Travel, Friendship, Instrumental, and Knowledge; 2) scales to evaluate intrinsic and extrinsic motivation,⁷ as well as amotivation; 3) several psychological variables that seemed to be related to intrinsic and extrinsic motivation (such as students' perceptions of competence, freedom, or anxiety, intention to continue L2 studies, etc.). To investigate the correspondence between the subtypes of intrinsic/extrinsic motivation and the four principal motivational orientations the correlation coefficients have been computed. The results showed that in all cases four motivational orientations of Clément and Kruidenier negatively correlated with amotivation factor. Instrumental orientation was shown to be tightly correlated with External Regulation (the subtype of extrinsic motivation),⁸ whereas Friendship, Knowledge and Travel all proved to be interrelated and positively correlated with various

⁷ Adapted from the Academic Motivation Scale (see Vallerand et al., 1989)

⁸ *External regulation* involves activities that are regulated by sources external to the person, such as material benefits or costs.

subtypes of intrinsic motivation, as well as certain self-determined forms of extrinsic motivation, such as Identified Regulation.⁹ These findings extended the results of Clément and Kruidenier, drawing the obvious connection to the intrinsic/extrinsic classification. One should bear in mind, however, that the data for these studies have been collected in Canada, which is a bilingual society. It remains unclear whether these findings are relevant for other cultural milieus and, in particular, for a monolingual environment. This is one of the research questions that are addressed in the current study.

Self-based approach to LLM. Further research in the field of LLM sought a new perspective on psychological aspects of motivation. As an alternative to both Gardner's socio-psychological approach and self-determination theory, Zoltan Dörnyei proposed the model of L2 Motivational Self System. This framework relies on the influential motivational studies focusing on possible and ideal selves (Higgins, 1987; Marcus & Nurius, 1986). Dörnyei assumes that any learner possesses different L2-related facets: (1) Ideal L2 self which "is a powerful motivator to learn the L2 because of the desire to reduce the discrepancy between our actual and ideal selves" (Dörnyei and Ushioda, 2009, p.29), (2) Ought-to L2 self which reflects person's beliefs about what he/she ought to do in order meet expectations and avoid negative consequences, and (3) L2 Learning Experience which is related to the current learning environment, including the curriculum, the teacher, and fellow learners (Dörnyei, 2009).

Dörnyei pointed out that his construct of Ideal Self seeks to reform the concept of Gardnerian integrativeness: "The central theme of new conception is the equation of the motivational dimension that has traditionally been interpreted as 'integrativeness/integrative motivation' with the 'Ideal L2 self'" (Csizer & Dörnyei, 2005, p.616). According to Dörnyei, the concept of integrativeness, which focuses on the learner's desire to integrate into the target language community, has become outdated in the beginning of the 21st century. In the era of globalization and global language it is

⁹ *Identified regulation* is considered to be the most self-determined form of extrinsic motivation. It assumes that the individual invests time and energy into certain activities for personally relevant reasons.

difficult to equate the desire to learn English with the desire to integrate into an English-speaking society (see Dörnyei & Csizer, 2002; Dörnyei, 2003). This observation shifted the attention of researchers from the question of learner's identification with an external group to the question of learner's internal concept of self. *Ideal Self* includes both the learner's desire to speak the foreign language fluently and his/her integrative disposition. However, it does not necessarily mean the integration into any particular culture, but rather may refer to learner's self-image as a member of the cosmopolitan global society.

In several subsequent studies the Dörnyei's model was put to an experimental test. The results of these studies generally confirmed the validity of Dörnyei's model in different cultural contexts (Kormos & Csizer, 2008; Taguchi *et al.*, 2009; Liu, 2012; Busse & Williams, 2010; Oakes, 2013). The concept of Ideal L2 Self gained broad acceptance and is now viewed as a useful motivational construct. On the other hand, the concept of Ought-to L2 Self does not always seem relevant in the data analyses (Kormos & Csizer, 2008; Busse & Williams, 2010).

Additional experimental research should help to further refine and better understand the concept of Ideal L2 Self. This concept has never been tested in the context of second language acquisition in the USA or in Russia. It should be useful to see if this motivational construct remains valid in these two countries in relation to the French as a foreign language (the previous research was carried out mostly in the context of EFL).

Qualitative perspective. In contrast to the theories which see the L2 motivation as a quantitative variable correlating with learning achievements, Ushioda has chosen a different approach. She considers LLM to be a “complex of cognitive-mediational processes shaping and sustaining learner involvement in learning” (Ushioda, 2001, p.94). Ushioda seeks to complement the traditional quantitative methodology with a qualitative study design. In her own study conducted in Ireland among fourteen university students of French, she concentrated on learners' perceptions of their successes and failures. Using open-ended and semi-structured interviews, Ushioda addressed two principal questions: 1) what factors are considered by learners as crucial for their motivation; 2) how their motivational experience evolved over time. To answer these questions, the data have been collected in two stages: 1) all participants were asked to describe their own ideas about the reasons that motivate them to learn French; 2) in 15-16 months the same

students were asked if their motivation has changed over this time period and, if so, what caused the change. Interview questions were formulated so as to reveal how students themselves see the factors influencing their progress, success, and increase or decrease of interest in studying the language.

Among the most frequently mentioned motivational factors the participants named: 1) enjoyment of language learning; 2) desire to achieve a certain level of L2 competence; 3) personal goals; 4) positive learning history. One of the interesting findings was that successful learners were less motivated by personal goals, but demonstrated strong intrinsic motivation to reach high level of L2 competence. In other words, the better one speaks French, the more one wants to perfect one's language skills (without necessarily associating L2 learning with his future career). Within the proposed theoretical framework, Ushioda emphasized that such goal disposition may become diametrically opposite with time. Positive learning experience may lead to choosing a career in French (intrinsic motivation → personal goals), whereas pursuing a good grade may potentially lead the person to enjoy the process of learning (personal goals → intrinsic motivation).

One of the main points of Ushioda's article is to develop a more comprehensive view of motivation and avoid seeing it only as a cause or effect of the learning success. The author indicates that such a traditional view of motivation leaves little chance for an unsuccessful language learner, who becomes locked in a vicious circle of poor motivation and poor performance. Instead, Ushioda suggests that the focus should be shifted to shaping positive motivation and positive incentives that should help learners to sustain their L2 involvement. This study definitely broadens our views of LLM and proves the value of qualitative methodology in this field.

As can be seen from this brief literature overview, the existing body of LLM work is mostly focused on different psychological and cognitive motivational variables. Researchers seek to develop universal models for language learning motivation, even though they often acknowledge that "the exact nature of the social and pragmatic dimensions of L2 motivation is always dependent on *who* learns *what* languages *where*" (Dörnyei, 1994, p.275). It seems that more attention needs to be paid to these important

socio-cultural and situative variables. In the next section I will discuss specifically the studies focusing on motivation to learn French.

2.3. Motivation to learn French

Bilingual Canada provided a fertile ground for educational research aimed at motivation to learn French. The development of Attitude/Motivation Test Battery by Gardner and the advent of French immersion programs in Canada put this question in the center of the national linguistic discourse (Gardner, Smythe, & Brunet, 1977; Gardner, Lalonde & Moorcroft, 1985; Van der Keilen, 1995 etc.). Today the French language in Canada is often used to test the validity of SLA socio-educational model, the effectiveness of French immersion programs, the correlation between motivation and L2 achievement, the effect of learning strategies, etc. (see Gardner & Masgoret, 2004; Goldberg & Noels, 2006; MacIntyre & Blackie, 2012; Unsal, 2013; Mady, 2014). It is, however, important to bear in mind that Canadian studies have been conducted in the context of a bilingual country with rather unique language sensitivities. The results may well be irrelevant for other countries where people study French as a foreign language.

In European and American studies, French is often included in comparative analyses of motivation toward various target languages. In 2002, Dörnyei and Csizer published the data from their longitudinal survey of more than 8,000 Hungarian schoolchildren conducted between 1993 and 1999. The survey sought to examine the language-related attitudes and learning motivations toward five target languages: English, German, French, Italian, and Russian. The measured dimensions were: (i) integrativeness, (ii) instrumentality, (iii) direct contact to L2 speakers, (iv) cultural interest, and (v) vitality of the accessible L2 community. The acquired data show how students' attitudes have changed over the 5-year period. The most striking finding is that only the motivation to learn English has remained unchanged during the observation period. The motivational disposition toward the other four languages has experienced a significant decline. The authors explain this result by "language globalization", which generates intense interest in *lingua franca* (English) at the expense of all other languages.

Dörnyei and Csizer note that French plays a 'rather marginal role' in the Hungarian language learning landscape (p. 438). On the other hand, the results indicate that French gained in popularity from 1993 to 1999, becoming the third most popular

choice behind English and German. While the correlation between motivational variables and the choice of English as a language of study decreased between 1993 and 1999, the same correlation increased for French. Although the authors did not comment on this observation, the reasons appear to be rather transparent. Learning English increasingly becomes a default choice, which does not require any particular motivation and is often dictated by go-with-the-flow attitude. On the other hand, learning French becomes an increasingly rare endeavor. The decision to learn French is unusual, it runs against the current societal trend which favors English, and thus requires a strong source of motivation. This observation underscores the increasing importance of motivational factors in learning foreign languages other than English. Another interesting parameter is the vitality of L2 community in Hungary. This variable reflects the perceived significance and richness of the L2 communities in question. In the case of French, this indicator remained unchanged during the 5-year observation period. This means that the infrastructure and the environment for learning French have been preserved. In this relatively favorable situation the key is to motivate potential learners of French.

In the USA, a comparative analysis of students' perception of French, German, and Spanish languages has been reported by Alalou (2001). The researcher aimed to identify the similarities and differences in the perceived language needs among college students enrolled in these three language courses. The study was conducted in a large private university in New York City. The total number of participants was 525, including 77 students of Spanish, 363 students of French, and 85 students of German. Both undergraduate- and graduate-level students were polled to collect the information about their demographics, motivation to study language, perception of their own language skills, and various language experiences. Among French learners, the main motivational factors were ranked as follows: 1) travel (69%); 2) university requirements (66%); 3) liking of the language (63%); 4) personal interest (51%); 5) career plans (40%). Other reasons, such as using French in the context of research, majoring in French, or presumed ease of learning French were all mentioned very infrequently. Interestingly, it became apparent that the students studying French, German, and Spanish have a different perception of their language requirements. Since foreign language was a part of the curriculum, it would be reasonable to expect that the students would be mainly concerned

about fulfilling their course requirements. That was true for majority of students learning Spanish whose principal goal was to satisfy their course requirements and who did not plan to continue their language studies. On the contrary, many students in both French and German programs did not limit their interest to the academic credits and indeed planned to continue their L2 studies.

A similar difference between students of Spanish and French was noted in the study by J.A. Thomas (2010). The researcher sought to identify two principal reasons which dictate the choice of L2 language by the college students who need to satisfy their academic requirements. The data were collected from 172 American students from Northeastern University who were enrolled in first-year language courses involving thirteen different target languages. The distributed questionnaire included 10 choices representing sentimental, value-oriented, instrumental, and communicative dimensions. Spanish students cited instrumental factors as both their first and second choices. Among students of French, the first choice was typically “to satisfy general education requirements” (37%), followed by career incentives, “language would be professionally advantageous” (27%) and travel/emigration orientation, “I would like to travel or to live in the country” (27%). The second choice was most often “positive experience in studying French” (27%), followed by the expected career benefits (18%) and travel / interest in foreign languages / ancestry (9% each). Thus, instrumental and travel orientations emerged as the most popular choices among the participants of this study. However, the small size of the sample (N=13 for students of French) is a significant limitation of this survey, making it impossible to draw for any general conclusions.

The observed difference in attitude toward Spanish and French is probably unique to American learners. It was not confirmed in a recent study of Oakes, which was conducted in the UK (Oakes, 2013). A quantitative and qualitative analysis of the responses from 378 university students failed to detect any significant difference in the level of motivation between learners of French and Spanish. Both languages were perceived as valuable, prestigious, and widely used in international communications. The students of French were on average slightly more inclined to believe that high level of French proficiency should improve their well-being. They were also more inclined to enjoy the intellectual challenge of studying their chosen language.

Many studies conducted in the UK emphasize the continuing decline of interest in foreign languages, attributing it to the global dominance of English (Busse & Walter, 2013; Coleman, 2005). In order to learn more about positive and negative motivational factors, S.J. Graham (2004) conducted a survey among UK school students aged 16 to 19 years old. The participants were asked if they plan to continue studying French in their postcompulsory schooling. Only 55 respondents out of 286 (19%) gave a positive answer to this question. The four frequently named reasons for not continuing were: 1) students did not enjoy it; 2) studying French is difficult; 3) it was not useful for their planned careers; 4) students did not feel that they were good at it. The last reason is particularly interesting and worth of a separate discussion.

Some relevant data can be found in the paper of S.J. Graham (2004). Focusing on the concept of self-efficacy (drawn from attribution theories), Graham sought to determine 1) how students rate their own achievements in learning French, 2) to what factors they attribute their achievements, and 3) how these attributions are related to students' actual achievements and their decision to continue studying French. One of the important findings of this study was that majority of students underestimated their abilities (especially female learners). Participants typically expected lower grades than their teachers predicted. This result is particularly striking considering the fact that most of the students who participated in the survey have previously demonstrated their high ability¹⁰ in speak French. It is also interesting how students see their progress in the classroom. As it turned out, learners of 11 years of age attributed their achievements mostly to "ability", whereas older students credited their own "efforts" or "learning strategies". These findings illustrate that the students' view of their learning situation can be quite different from that of the language instructors.

Taking into consideration these findings, one can see that the French language is sometimes perceived by students as difficult and almost useless for their future careers, it is especially important to know more about what students see as a positive side of studying this language. To the best of my knowledge there have been no recent SLA

¹⁰ In the UK, after 5 years of language studies students take the GCSE examination and then are grouped according to their language ability (or *set* – author's note).

studies focusing specifically on French language and its attractiveness for learners. However, a similar study was recently conducted by Busse and Williams for another major European language (“Why German?”, 2010). Using a combination of concepts from different motivational frameworks, the authors sought to determine if these concepts are applicable to languages other than English and how they correlate with each other. Toward this goal the researchers designed the questionnaire including items that reflected L2 self-system, intrinsic motivation, integrativeness, and instrumentality. In addition, structured interviews have been designed along the same lines. The responses were obtained from 142 first-year students of German from two large British universities.

The data from exploratory interviews showed that students ranked enjoyment of the language learning and desire to achieve language proficiency as two main sources of motivation. Among others highly rated factors were (in decreasing order) ideal self, instrumental motives, and integrative reasons. The interdependencies between all these variables have been analyzed using Pearson’s correlation. It is noteworthy that the desire to improve language proficiency received much higher score than the perspective of financial gain. Historically, fluency in foreign language often translated into material benefits. However, today the focus shifts away from the pragmatic goals and language proficiency is perceived a value onto itself. Different motivational variables proved to be highly correlated (Pearson’s r of 0.5-0.6), suggesting that motivational factors tend to form a complex that cannot be easily factorized.

While the results of Busse and Williams are of considerable interest, their study clearly has certain limitations. First, the number of participants was relatively small, with the final analysis based on 94 questionnaires, which may not be sufficient to support certain broad conclusions. Second, all participants were advanced learners, the average time of studying German 6.5 years. It is known that the motivation of such advanced learners is usually higher than that of the intermediate-level students. And finally, the study was conducted in the Russel Group institutions, i.e. research-intensive, world-class universities in U.K. These universities have large and well-established German programs, which is presumably reflected in the students’ desire to learn German. It remains to be seen whether the findings of Busse and Williams would be reproduced in a different academic environment with larger number of participants of diverse levels of proficiency.

It will also be instructive to test the generality of the observations made by Busse and Williams by turning to another major European language, such as French.

2.4. Gender differences in perception of the French language

A number of studies emphasize gender differences in learners' perception of French. In 1999, an interesting paper was published by M. Wright discussing attitudes of Irish schoolchildren toward French language and culture. The study also sought to examine the factors that contribute to formation of these attitudes. The responses were obtained from 898 pupils from 12 different post-primary schools; all participants were in their fifth year of studying French. The research questionnaire included items on 1) attitudes toward the French language; 2) attitudes toward French people and culture; 3) possible sources of these attitudes such as opinions expressed by friends, family, teachers, etc. The results of the survey revealed significant differences between girls and boys across all attitude dimensions: girls generally demonstrated considerably more positive attitudes toward the country, the language, and the learning process.

Image of French as a "feminine language" became apparent in the study by Williams, Burden and Lanvers (2002) conducted in the UK. The researchers found that French trails German in popularity among schoolchildren, especially among boys. In the secondary school, male students showed remarkably higher motivation to learn German than French. They explained it by perception of French as a feminine language, as opposed to the more masculine German. As one of the interviewed nine-year-old boys pointed out: "French is the language of love and stuff" whereas German is "the war, Hitler and all that" (p.520). The same perception of French as a "girly" language is confirmed by a nine-year-old girl: "I reckon girls are really into French; they like the way that French sounds more than boys do" (p.521). The quantitative analysis also indicated that girls expressed a significantly higher degree of liking and a desire to learn French, as well as a higher level of integrative orientation.

Similar gender differences in motivation to learn French were found by Kissau (2006) among Canadian 9th grade FSL students. Approximately 500 students completed a questionnaire that included items about learners' attitudes toward the target language community, as well as the societal situation of the students and other classroom-related

factors. The results revealed that girls and boys differ most significantly with respect to their “desire to learn French”. This variable had a loading in excess of $r = 0.75$. Girls expressed a stronger desire to study French, more interest in French culture and in Francophone people. Male students displayed a lower sense of integrative orientation, as well as lower motivational intensity. The boys seem to be more perceptive to negative stereotypes involving French, and they are less encouraged by peers, teachers, and parents to study French. In the words of one male teacher: “There’s still a lot of sexist thinking that a man doesn’t learn languages. A man does math or engineering, or whatever. Sexist behaviour still plays a great role. Learning French, it’s not perceived as a man’s job.” (Kissau, 2006, p. 415)

Similar results about girls surpassing boys in integrative orientation have been obtained by Ruyffelaert and Hadermann (2012). These researchers conducted a study about impact of age and gender on French learners’ motivation in Flanders (Belgium). The participants were 126 secondary-school students from 12 to 18 years of age. The youth were asked to rate a number of factors that could potentially contribute to the decline of French language in Flanders. It has been found that both boys and girls see French as a beautiful language, but only half of all respondents consider it to be a modern language. Half of all participants find French difficult to study. Of interest, much more girls (56%) than boys (37%) consider French-speaking people to be unfriendly. Despite this, girls expressed higher integrative motivation, whereas boys gave higher scores to the instrumental motives.

The gender differences in the perception of French may be influenced by the fact that girls in general enjoy academic studies more than boys. For example, the study of Mills, Pajares and Herron (2007) conducted among 303 US college students enrolled in various courses of French found that female students reported greater esteem for the value of French language, as well as higher interest in learning. At the same time the researchers found that girls are better organized than boys and fully conscious of this trait (“self-efficacy for self-regulation”), although boys and girls achieve similar level of language proficiency. The sense that “everything is under control” probably leads to lower level of anxiety among girls and, as a result, higher degree of enjoyment associated with language learning. While these results are very insightful, it remains unclear if/how

gender differences in perception of French correspond with the learners' motivational orientations. The current study seeks to fill this gap in the existing knowledge.

2.5. Motivation and age

In the LLM literature, gender is the most common individual trait that is correlated with motivation. In contrast, the relationship between motivation and age remains a relatively unexplored area. The majority of studies in this area have been conducted among schoolchildren of different age. The data collected in these studies suggest that SLA motivation is negatively correlated with years of education. While in primary school, children usually have a positive attitude toward studying foreign languages (Nikolov, 1999; Alabau, 2002; Donate *et al.*, 2000). Later, usually at the age of 11-15, the enthusiasm seems to decline (Gardner & Smythe, 1975; Gonzalez, 2004; Masgoret *et al.*, 2001; Chambers, 2000; Williams, Burden & Lanvers, 2002). However, these findings may be biased due to the specific traits of the “awkward age”: in contrast to younger kids, teenagers are not inclined to give positive and enthusiastic answers.

There have also been studies where the opposite trend was noted. Munoz and Tragant (2001) conducted a study of 923 children of different ages attending schools in Barcelona. The subjects completed a questionnaire about their attitudes toward EFL and motives for studying a foreign language. The data suggest that the level of motivation increases with duration of education. Of note, the character of motivation also changes: while younger learners display stronger intrinsic motivation, the older students are more extrinsically and instrumentally motivated. It should be stressed the participants studied English – clearly, the practical advantages of speaking this language are more apparent to teenagers than younger children.

These results are consistent with the findings of Gonzales (2010), who also found that older learners tend to have a higher level of instrumental orientation than the younger ones. Using a questionnaire, the researcher sought to determine how age, gender, language and time of study affect different motivational orientations among Filipino students. The study was conducted among 150 university learners of French, Spanish, Japanese and Chinese. As it turned out, 17-18 year old students showed a stronger

orientation toward cultural understanding. Their 19-20 year old counterparts are more perceptive to career advancement and self-satisfaction.

The same tendency was earlier observed by Schmidt, Boraie and Kassabgy (1996). Their work is highly relevant for the current research because it involves a group of learners ranging from 15 to 35+ years of age who all studied language in private courses. The objective of Schmidt's research was to find the components of motivation for 1464 Egyptians studying English. Three major motivational dimensions have been observed in this group: affect (roughly corresponding to intrinsic motivation), goal orientation (mostly associated with desire and determination to continue learning English despite possible difficulties), and expectancy (reflecting instrumental orientations, such as an opportunity for financial gain, better job prospects, peers' respect, and higher social status). In terms of the age effects on motivational variables it was found that: 1) expectancy is higher among students of 15-18 year olds, 2) goal orientation is most important among 19-22 year olds, and 3) affect factors are the best motivators among 35+ year olds. This means that students in their late teens and early twenties have high hopes that English language will fuel their careers and offer multiple practical benefits. On the other hand, older learners have seen their hopes of career advancement diminished – most of them study language for pleasure. The current study seeks to test whether this disposition is also relevant for American and Russian learners of French.

One additional study involving learners of different age was carried out by Kormos and Csizer (2008). The investigators sought to: 1) characterize the differences between three groups of Hungarian learners who studied English and 2) test two main constructs of the Dörnyei's motivational self-system (Ideal and Ought-to L2 selves). The study embraced secondary-school pupils, university students, and post-college learners (the total of 623 participants). The results showed that Ideal L2 self was the best predictor for language attainment among all age groups. The youngest learners were more motivated by their interest in English cultural products, such as movies or songs. For the older group the so-called 'international posture' played an important role. This term represents "interest in foreign or international affairs, willingness to go overseas to study or work, readiness to interact with intercultural partners ... and a non-ethnocentric attitude toward different cultures" (p.330).

2.6. Cross-cultural motivation studies

As far as I know there has been no cross-cultural study about LLM involving both American and Russian language learners. The cross-cultural motivational works cited below are quite different from the current study in terms of methodology. They often focus on cross-cultural psychology and seek to examine if the concepts of Western psychology also apply to other cultures. Let me discuss several representative examples.

Invoking the concepts from McClelland's need theory,¹¹ Ng, Winter and Cardona (2011) examined the role of power motivation among American and Chinese students. The participants were 120 undergraduate students from different programs in Peking University and the University of Michigan. The authors hypothesized that external stimuli, such as being given a decision-making control or being elevated to a position of authority in the classroom should increase the level of learners' motivation among American students, but not among the Chinese. This hypothesis drew on the idea of political scientists Pye & Pye (1985) who emphasized the special connotation of the concept of power in Asia: 'In most of Asia to have power was to be spared of decision making... achieving power means to be free of care...'. Such cultural difference in perception of power suggests that Asian students may not be motivated by their elevated classroom status. Indeed, the investigators found that "empowerment" of students boosted the level of motivation among American students, but not among their Chinese counterparts. It should be pointed out, however, that some of the methods used in this study appear to be naïve. For example, "the participants were asked to sit in a professor's chair, behind the professor's desk". This approach may be effective for young children, but is hardly relevant in the case of college students.

Similarly, the concept of autonomy has been tested in culturally different contexts. In the self-determination theory, autonomy is considered to be a basic and universal human need. However there is an alternative view that autonomy is valued only in the Western world, whereas in other cultures individuals are used to being controlled by an external authority, which they see as a source of comfort and satisfaction (Markus

¹¹ Need theory explores how needs for achievement, power, and affiliation shapes people's behavior in a context of organized activities.

& Kitayama, 1991; Miller, 1997). In order to understand how autonomy is perceived in different cultural environments, Chirkov and Ryan (2001) conducted a comparative study of American and Russian high school learners. Russia has traditionally been seen as authoritarian and controlling, in contrast to the USA that is viewed as a bulwark of personal freedom. Indeed, Russian learners reported lower level of autonomy support, as well as higher level of control by parents and teachers. Nevertheless, it turned out that Russian and American adolescents hold similar views of autonomy support vs. control. For both Russian and American participants, higher level of parental autonomy support was associated with better self-regulation and ultimately with improved well-being. Thus, Chirkov and Ryan demonstrated that the concept of autonomy can be highly valued across different cultural milieus.

To my knowledge, only three cross-cultural studies deal with the language learning motivation. All of them involve Asian students. In 1996, a comparative EFL study was conducted in Japan and China. The first part of this study concerned junior high school students and their motivation toward learning English (Matsukawa & Tachibana, 1996). The participants were 189 Japanese and 289 Chinese teenagers between 13 and 15 years of age. It was found that Chinese students displayed higher interest and level of involvement compared to their Japanese counterparts. Chinese learners also demonstrated stronger instrumental motivation, seeing English as an effective tool for career advancement; at the same time, this group professed only weak affinity to English culture. The Japanese students showed more balanced attitude, with elements of both extrinsic and intrinsic motivation.

In the second part of this study (Tachibana, Matsukawa & Zhong, 1996), the authors studied high school students' attitudes toward EFL and their motivational orientations. The subjects were 359 Japanese and 442 Chinese learners between 15 and 18 years of age. The study exposed some interesting differences between the two groups. 1) Chinese girls showed higher interest in studying English than boys, but Japanese girls and boys were equally interested. 2) Chinese students saw effort as the most important predictor of the EFL success. In contrast, Japanese students rated ability as the most important factor. The authors offered a possible explanation for this observation, citing the differences in the two respective educational systems. One can also speculate that this

difference is rooted in different social orientations and cultural traditions. 3) In Japan, the level of students' interest increased while in high school, i.e. 18-year-old learners showed more interest in EFL than 15 year olds. In contrast, Chinese students lost some of their interest over this time frame. In both countries the highest level of motivation was observed among younger learners, i.e. 13- to 15-year-old junior high students. This is consistent with the general trend whereupon the level of motivation declines with years of schooling, as discussed above.

In 2008, a very different aspect of language learning attitudes and motivation was studied among Asian students (Gan, 2008). Recognizing that Asian teaching style is often considered as passive and teacher-centered, Gan conducted a study to determine how Asian heritage culture influences students' attitudes and behaviour. The researcher sought to compare self-directed language learning strategies (SDLL) and motivational orientations among university students in mainland China and Hong Kong (339 and 280 second-year students, respectively). These regions have been chosen as sharing the same Confucian cultural background, but offering different social and educational settings. The results showed that the mainland students possess a significantly stronger orientation toward learner independence and a more powerful sense of confidence and ability to carry out SDLL, whereas the Hong Kong group showed a greater preference for teacher guidance. The mainland students were found to use more metacognitive and cognitive learning strategies (memorizing vocabulary in particular), while the students from Hong Kong demonstrated significantly higher use of functional practice strategies.

The author explains these findings by the differences in institutional contexts. The Hong Kong students are not obligated to pass the English proficiency test at the tertiary level. This is why their self-initiated English learning outside class is based on their interest in communication and leisure activities (reading English newspapers, watching movies, etc.) On the other hand, the students from mainland China see their education as an important personal mission, where good grades are equated with future success in life. Thus they apply themselves to academic activities with greater resolve and determination. Gan concludes that the students' learning strategies are determined by the learning environment and societal context, rather than cultural beliefs. The results of this study

refute the stereotypes about universal Asian learning strategies based on cultural traditions.

2.7. Summary of Chapter 2

Chapter 2 contains a survey of selected literature in the field of LLM, motivation to learn French, gender and age factors in LLM, and cross-cultural LLM studies. From this literature review, it has become apparent that there is currently no motivational research that would confirm or refute the findings of Clément and Kruidenier (1983) outside of the Canadian linguistic context. In particular, it remains unclear whether the four motivational orientations identified by these scholars are of any general significance. Furthermore, there have been no cross-cultural studies that would compare motivational orientations of American and Russian language learners; in particular, the concept of ideal L2 self has never been tested for these constituencies. Likewise, there have been no studies that would compare the motivation of college students with that of the private courses' learners. Finally, no attempts have been made to investigate the influence of age on motivation of French language learners. The current study aims to fill these gaps in the existing knowledge.

The next chapter describes research methodology that has been used in the current study. Specifically, it discusses the choice of subjects, the protocols used for data collection, and the procedures for data analyses.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter explains the methodological design of the current study. Specifically, the description of the subjects, the description of the study method, and the details of the data treatment protocol are presented.

3.2. Description of the Subjects

The total number of participants in the current study was 613. There were four groups of participants: (1) American students from Purdue University (N = 167); (2) American students from Alliance Française¹² de Chicago and Alliance Française de Cincinnati (N = 80); (3) Russian students from public universities in St. Petersburg (N = 109); (4) Russian students from Alliance Française de Saint-Pétersbourg (N = 257).

American students from Purdue University and Russian students from public universities in St. Petersburg. Table 1 summarizes the demographic information of the participants from the American and Russian colleges. The participants from US and Russian colleges were students of the same age (on average, 20.2 years old). In both groups there were students with different levels of proficiency in French¹³, from beginners to advanced learners. The American sample was somewhat larger (167 vs. 109 students). Both in the US and Russian groups female students significantly outnumbered male students (72% and 81%, respectively). All students are “in the same boat”: they are all required to study foreign language in order to complete their degree requirements. For both American and Russian students French is a matter of personal preference since they can choose from several languages offered in the university curricula.

¹² Alliance Française (AF) is an international organization whose mandate is to promote French language and culture all over the world. AF operates 850 centers in 137 countries. Initially this organization was sponsored by French government. Nowadays, however, AF exists as an independent commercial entity offering French language classes, cultural events, access to French books and movies, etc.

¹³ The proficiency was assessed by class level of participants.

Table 1: Information about college students from the USA and Russia

	Purdue (USA)	St. Petersburg universities (Russia)
Overall number of participants	167	109
Number of female participants	121	88
Number of male participants	46	21
Average age	19.8	19.9
Level of French	101-301	Beginner/intermediate/advanced
Program	Undergraduate	Undergraduate/Master ¹⁴

American and Russian private courses students. American and Russian private courses students are represented by those who study French on a voluntary basis at Alliance Française learning centers in Chicago and Cincinnati (USA) and also in St. Petersburg (Russia). Table 2 summarizes the demographic information of the participants from the American and Russian private courses students. The participants from Alliance Française range in age from 12 to 85 years old. Average age of the students is significantly different (45 years old in the US vs. 31 years old in Russia). In both groups there were students with different levels of proficiency in French, from beginners to advanced learners. The Russian sample is substantially larger than the American one (257 vs. 80 students). Both in the US and Russian groups female students significantly outnumbered male students (76% and 90% respectively).

¹⁴ The current research does not include those students who study toward a degree in French language. The author suggests that French majors constitute a special category of learners who is supposed to have a priori very strong motivation. The current study would like to focus on a “general” student whose motivation is not evident.

Table 2: Information about participants from Alliance Française

	Alliance Française de Chicago and Cincinnati	Alliance Française de Saint-Pétersbourg
Overall number of participants	80	257
Number of female participants	61	232
Number of male participants ¹⁵	18	24
Average age	45	31
Level of French	beginners to advanced	beginners to advanced

3.3. Procedure

The data at Purdue University were collected during the spring semester 2015. The paper-and-pencil questionnaire was administered to students enrolled in French courses from first to fifth semester, during class time by the researcher. First, the purpose and significance of the study were described to the class and the questionnaire response format was explained. It was emphasized that participation was completely voluntary, no rewards or bonuses were offered. Then students were asked to complete the forms. 100% of students agreed to participate, but later, during the data-processing stage, only the questionnaires of American-born students were retained for analyses¹⁶. The final sample consisted of 167 completed forms.

The data from Alliance Française branches in the United States were collected during the spring and fall semesters of 2015. The director of Alliance Française in Cincinnati kindly agreed to help the researcher with data collection. She administered the questionnaire to learners during class time. First, the purpose and significance of the study were explained and then students were asked to complete the forms. It was emphasized that participation was completely voluntary, no rewards or bonuses were

¹⁵ One person in each sample did not indicate a gender. The respondents who did not indicate their gender were included in all statistical analyses except when gender differences in LLM were discussed.

¹⁶ The author suggested that some findings of the current study may be related to the cultural differences between American and Russian learners of French. Thus, only the questionnaires of American-born and Russian-born participants were retained for analyses.

offered. Alliance Française in Cincinnati has a relatively small student body: only 20 questionnaires from American-born students were obtained from this educational center.

The remaining part of the data was collected in Alliance Française in Chicago. The study was conducted in a form of sidewalk survey; the forms were handed out and then collected in front of the Alliance Française building. Students who came to attend classes were approached and asked to participate in the research. Those who wished to participate completed the questionnaires before or after class and then returned them to the researcher. The total size of the sample representing Alliance Française courses in the United States was 80 completed forms.

In Russian universities the data were collected during the academic year 2014-2015. With the help from university administration and faculty, the researcher was able to conduct the survey in St. Petersburg State University, St. Petersburg Electrotechnical University “LETI”, and St. Petersburg State University of Economics. It was deemed necessary to collect the data from several institutions because the number of students studying French in Russian universities has declined significantly in the last 10 years. According to the new policy of Russian Ministry of Education, all college freshmen must study English. Only when/if the students achieve B2 level in English (upper intermediate as defined in European Language Portfolio) they are allowed to study another language. Usually the students can choose between German, French and Spanish classes.

The questionnaire was administered to students during class time by their language instructors (see section 3.4.1 and Appendix A for the entire copy of the questionnaire). First, the purpose and significance of the study were defined and the questionnaire response format was explained. Then students were asked to complete the forms. It was emphasized that participation was completely voluntary, no rewards or bonuses were offered. By the final count, 109 completed forms have been collected.

The data from Alliance Française in St. Petersburg were collected during the fall semester 2014. The learners at this educational center were organized in 63 groups, each consisting of 8-12 students. Owing to the help of the director I was given the permission to address students during class time. The purpose and significance of the research were described to the students in each group, and the questionnaire response format was explained. It was emphasized that participation was completely voluntary; no rewards or

bonuses were offered. Students who choose to participate were asked to complete the questionnaires at home, then bring them to class and turn them in. To much of my surprise, the majority of students did not forget to fill out and bring back their questionnaires. The total of 305 forms were collected. Out of this number, 257 forms were completed correctly, while others either missed personal information or some data.

3.4. Method

The methodology consists of a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative part of the study used a direct method of enquiry in a form of a questionnaire, which had been originally composed in English and then translated into Russian. To construct the self-reported questionnaire, the researcher drew upon the previous motivational studies¹⁷ and also relied on the results of a small-scale pilot study. The pilot study was conducted in the fall 2013 and included ten interviews with French learners from the US and Russia. The students were asked to intuitively name five reasons that contributed to their decision to study French language. The motivational factors that were invoked by all participants were included in the list of motivational orientations. Specifically, two factors were universally mentioned during the pilot study: (i) interest in French culture and (ii) beauty of French language. These two dimensions were incorporated into the final version of the questionnaire along with eight other orientations.

The final list of ten motivational orientations chosen for the current study included: Travel, Friendship, Knowledge, Instrumental, Ideal L2 Self, Sociability, Emigration, Peers' Encouragement, Culture, and Aesthetic Factors. The first four motivational factors (Travelling, Friendship, Knowledge, and Instrumental orientations) were adopted from Clément & Kruidenier (1983) and Noels (2000). The current study seeks to test their findings by targeting a new learning audience: American and Russian learners of French. Since this study deals not only with college students, but also with 25+ learners, it had been decided to combine the orientations associated with friendship and romantic relationship into the single category 'Friendship'.

¹⁷ These studies will be cited in the appendix A.

Today the concept of Ideal L2 Self is considered to be one of the most promising in the L2 motivational research. It should be interesting to see whether this construct, borrowed from Dörnyei's Motivational Self System, is applicable to the American and Russian learning audiences where it has never been tested before. With this objective in mind, the Ideal L2 Self was added to the list of motivational orientations in the current study. The items representing this construct have been adapted from the paper by Taguchi *et al.* (2009).

The current study deals with two educational settings: college and private language courses. The latter involves men and women who study language voluntarily in commercial learning centers. These are people who often come to class after work, being tired and burdened with many responsibilities. Yet they are willing to spend their time and money to study French. The researcher assumes that one important factor that boosts their motivation is the pleasure of socializing with their classmates. For this reason it was decided to include the Sociability orientation.

Sociability as a factor of LLM was first suggested in the study of Schmidt *et al.* (1996). Until nowadays it has been probably the only study that focused on this motivational driver. Schmidt drew on psychological Keller's education-oriented theory (1983) which suggests that humans have needs for achievement, for affiliation and for power. To reflect personal needs for affiliation Schmidt and his colleagues developed a factor of Sociability concerning the classroom as a social environment.

Another motivational orientation, Peers' Encouragement, is in part adapted from Kissau (2006). This metric aims to gauge social attitudes toward learning French. The Emigration orientation was inspired by Schmidt *et al.* (1996). This dimension was considered potentially relevant for a number of Russian French learners, as well as presumed few francophiles in the US. Finally, the two additional orientations, Culture and Aesthetic Factors, have been added to the list based on the outcome of the pilot study, as discussed above.

3.4.1. Questionnaire

The resulting questionnaire consisted of 10 constructs, with four items related to each construct. Randomly ordered throughout the first part of the questionnaire, 40 individual items reflect the following 10 motivational factors:¹⁸

- 1) Instrumental motivation: job or study (Ex.: I study French because it can help me to find a good job);
- 2) Friendship or romantic relationship with Francophones (Ex.: I study French because I have a French-speaking friend/girlfriend/boyfriend);
- 3) Knowledge (Ex.: I study French because I want to be a well-educated person);
- 4) Travel (Ex.: Knowing French will help me if I travel to the countries where French is spoken);
- 5) Ideal L2 self (Ex.: I like to think of myself as someone who is able to speak French);
- 6) Aesthetic Factors (Ex.: French is a gentle and pleasant-sounding language);
- 7) Cultural interest (Ex.: I am interested to know more about French culture);
- 8) Sociability (Ex.: One reason why I study French is because I can meet new people and make friends in class);
- 9) Emigration (Ex.: I want to learn French because I would like to emigrate);
- 10) Peers' Encouragement (Ex.: My friends encourage me to learn French)¹⁹.

The questionnaire also included personal information, such as age, gender, place of birth, type of employment, and time of studying French. At the end of the questionnaire the participants were invited to provide additional comments about their motivation to study French. It is acknowledged here that not all aspects of the motivational research have been addressed in the questionnaire, nor has any attempt been made to link the chosen constructs in any causal or hierarchical manner to produce a model of the motivational process.

¹⁸ For complete version of the questionnaire in English see appendix A.

¹⁹ Keeping in mind that participation in the current study was completely voluntary and entailed no tangible benefits for participants, it was deemed important to produce a questionnaire that could be completed in under 10 minutes. Thus, the list of potential motivational drivers has been limited to 10 orientations.

A 5-point Likert scale was used to measure the degree of agreement with every questionnaire item (strongly disagree / disagree / neutral / agree / strongly agree). Since each category consists of four statements to be rated on a four-point scale, the potential range of mean scores runs from 0 to 16, where 0 represents the strongly negative pole and 16 represents the strongly positive pole.

The qualitative part of the study included semi-structured interviews with the participants. Five learners (chosen randomly) from each of the four primary categories (college students in US, college students in Russia, students attending private courses in US, students attending private courses in Russia) have been interviewed in order to refine the researcher's perspective on the motivational drivers for learning French. Confidentiality was assured and respected. The data obtained from these 20 interviews were coded and content analyzed. The extracts from the interviews have been used to illustrate and rationalize the outcomes of the quantitative study. The researcher has chosen not to reprint the text of the interviews in full to avoid repetitive and largely redundant narration.

During the semi-structured interviews five questions have been posed to the participants:

- 1) Could you name the main reasons why you study French?
- 2) What was the starting point of your interest in French?
- 3) How do your friends and family feel about your studies of French?
- 4) Do you think that French could be useful for your career?
- 5) What do you think about the perception of French language and France by American (Russian) society?

3.5. Analysis

In order to answer the research questions posed in the current study, the data from the completed questionnaires have been entered into SPSS program (version 22/23) to obtain an appropriate descriptive and inferential statistics. The validity of the questionnaire items has been tested using the Reliability Analysis module in SPSS (Cronbach alpha coefficient). To address specific research questions, the author calculated partial scores pertaining to the individual orientations. Each of the four-item

orientations was thus scored on the scale from 0 to 16. The mean orientation scores were used to draw a comparison between (i) different motivational orientations within the same group, e.g. American college students, and (ii) different groups ranked along the same motivational dimension, e.g. Instrumental motivation. To conduct pairwise comparisons and to determine whether the observed differences are statistically significant the researcher relied on the Student's *t*-test statistics. The paired and the unpaired *t*-tests have been used to conduct comparisons (i) and (ii), respectively. In addition, Pearson correlation coefficients have been used to probe the relationship between different variables. In this manner the researcher was able to reduce the primary parameter spaces consisting of 10 orientations to a smaller number of essential variables. As a result the fundamental generalizations, such as Idealistic vs. Pragmatic orientations, have emerged. The Pearson correlation coefficients have also been used to visualize the relationship between motivational scores and demographic variables such as age or gender, as well as time of studying French.

3.6 Summary of Chapter 3

This chapter provided 1) the description of the procedure and the subjects, i.e. demographic information of the participants from the USA and Russia; 2) the overview of the research methodology, including the questionnaire and interview structure, and 3) the summary of data treatment. In the next chapter, both quantitative and qualitative results will be presented and discussed with the focus on the stated research questions.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the statistical results for four groups of participants: 1) American college students (Purdue University, West Lafayette); 2) American private courses students (Alliance Française de Chicago and Alliance Française de Cincinnati); 3) Russian college students (Public Universities in St. Petersburg); 4) Russian private courses students (Alliance Française de Saint-Pétersbourg).

The following results will be presented and analyzed: mean scores for ten motivational orientations; gender differences in mean scores; intercorrelations of motivational orientations; correlation between time of studying French and different motivational orientations; correlation between age and motivational orientations (for Alliance Française students). Furthermore, the chapter will provide comparative analyses of the four groups of French learners discussed above.

4.2. American college students (Purdue University, West Lafayette)

4.2.1. Means' comparison

Table 3 provides the overall mean scores for the entire sample of Purdue students (N=167) on each motivational orientation.

The majority of values are deemed to meet the acceptable level of questionnaire reliability²⁰. Very low Cronbach's alpha for the Instrumental orientation, $\alpha=0.3$, can be attributed to the fact that four items representing this construct invoke two different ideas:

(1,2) "I study French because it can help me to find a good job" and/or "Increasing my French proficiency will have financial benefits for me" vs.

²⁰ A commonly acceptable level of internal consistency for Cronbach alpha is $\alpha \geq 0.7$. The level of $0.7 > \alpha \geq 0.6$ is considered to be questionable. The level of $0.5 > \alpha$ is unacceptable (see George, D., & Mallery, P. (2003). SPSS for Windows step by step: A simple guide and reference. 11.0 update (4th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon).

(3,4) “I study French because of language requirements in my degree program” and/or “The main reason why I need to learn French is to pass an examination”.

Table 3: Mean scores for motivational orientations of Purdue University students

Motivational orientation	Mean (out of 16)	Std. Deviation	Cronbach α
Travelling	14.1	2.1	0.8
Aesthetic Factors	12.2	2.5	0.8
Culture	11.2	2.8	0.7
Knowledge	11.2	2.5	0.7
Sociability	10.1	3.0	0.9
Ideal Self	9.6	2.6	0.6
Instrumental orientation	8.0	2.7	0.3
Emigration	7.2	3.8	0.9
Peers' Encouragement	6.2	2.6	0.6
Friendship	5.3	2.5	0.6

The first pair of items makes reference to employment and potential financial benefits, whereas the second pair focuses on exams and language requirements. The researcher does not expect the first cluster to correlate with the second one, i.e., those students for whom French is prerequisite may or may not see it as something with a potential for career growth or financial gain. The researcher believes that this is the reason for low internal consistency of the obtained scores. To test this hypothesis, Cronbach's α was calculated separately for the 'job' (1,2) and 'exam' (3,4) items. The results were 0.79 and 0.71, respectively. These results prove the validity of the two sub-groups within the 'instrumental orientation' cluster.

The researcher would like to argue that 'instrumental orientation' remains a valid indicator in this situation despite low Cronbach's alpha. Indeed, this orientation combines 'apples' (career prospects) with 'oranges' (university degree requirements). However, if the goal is to count the total number of 'fruits' then it is legitimate to add 'apples' to 'oranges'. In the current study, both job prospects and degree requirements fall under the same rubric of pragmatic goals and thus can be meaningfully combined. To reiterate, the

Instrumental orientation score is considered meaningful even though it originates from two different and largely unrelated sources.

Figure 1 and Table 4 show that there is a significant difference between all dimensions except the following three pairs (i) Culture and Knowledge, (ii) Sociability and Ideal Self, and (iii) Emigration and Instrumental orientation where the scores happen to be statistically indistinguishable. Let us take a closer look at the motivational orientations of Purdue students of French.

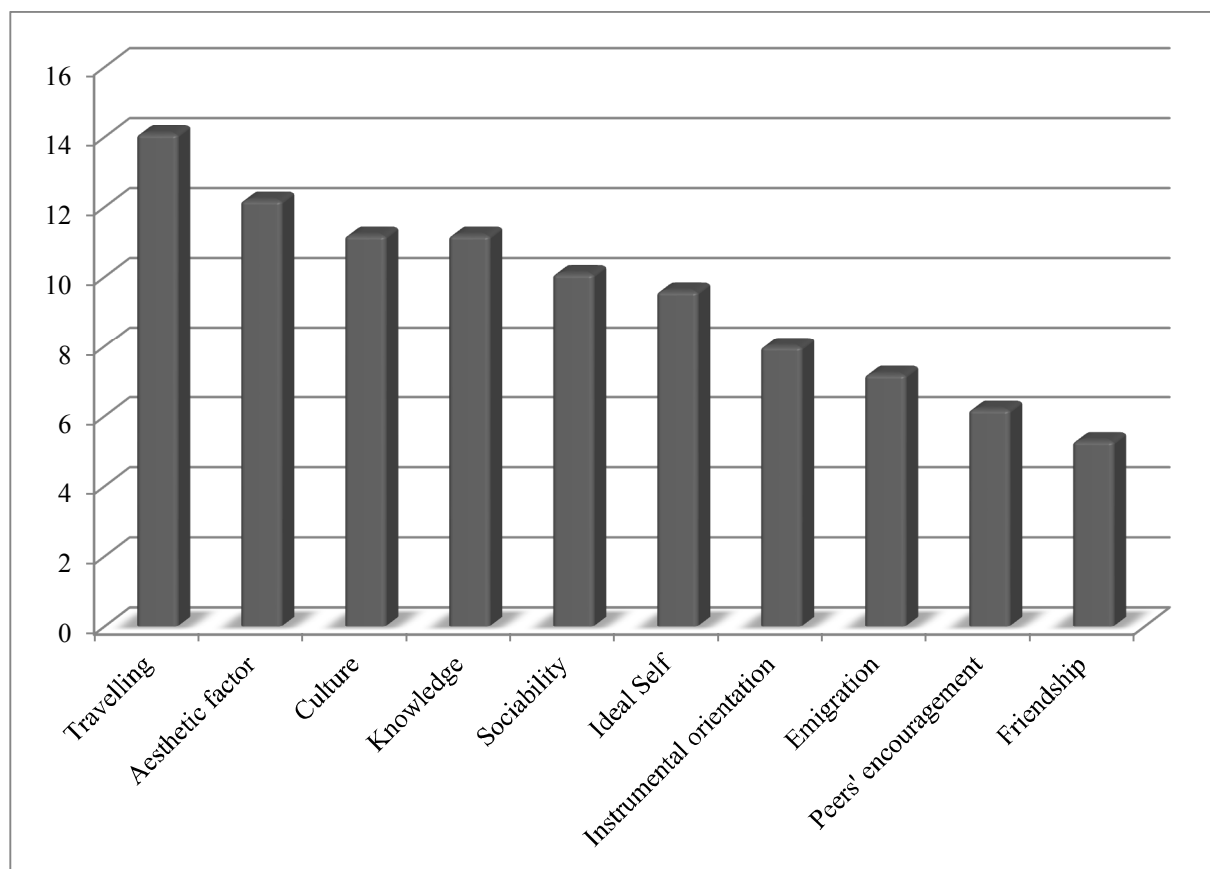


Figure 1: Mean scores of different motivational orientations for Purdue students learning French

Table 4: Pairwise comparison of means for overall motivational orientations
(Purdue University students)

	TR	AE	CUL	KN	SOC	IS	INS	EM	PE	FR
TR	14.1	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
AE		12.2	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
CUL			11.2	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
KN				11.2	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
SOC					10.1	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
IS						9.6	.00	.00	.00	.00
INS							8.0	1.00	.00	.00
EM								7.2	.06	.00
PE									6.2	.01
FR										5.3

The entries on the diagonal are mean scores for different orientations, color-coded blue. The entries off the diagonal are p -values for difference between means; those entries that are greater than 0.05 are color-coded pink, indicating that the difference is statistically insignificant.

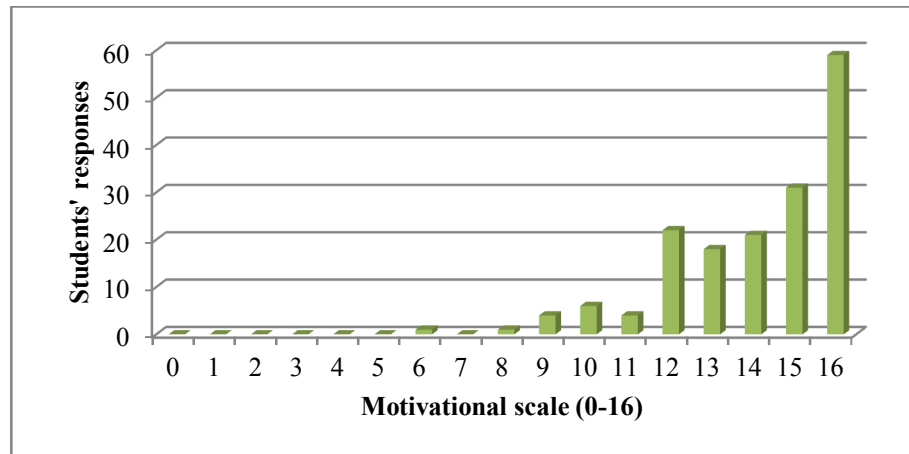


Figure 2: Frequency of responses for Travelling orientation

According to Euromonitor International²¹, a market research company, France ranks second in Europe (behind Britain) in the list of most popular international travel destinations for Americans in 2015. French scenery, food, architecture, and museums have always been a strong attraction for American tourists and visitors. This is why Culture also ranks among the top three motivational orientations, yielding only to Travelling and Aesthetic Factors.

While the appeal of Travel is universal, I tend to believe that this is not necessarily the strongest motivational orientation. In the interviews I asked Purdue students to write one sentence, describing the main reason that makes them study French. I found that travel has never been mentioned in these responses. People in general find the idea of holidays in Paris highly agreeable, which is why this orientation ended up at the top of the list – although it is rarely the main motivation for studying French.

Aesthetic Factors (i.e. beauty of the French language) have previously been recognized as an important motivational component. Based on the interviews with students of French from Trinity College, Ushioda (2001) included it in the list of primary motivational factors. All fourteen students reported ‘sound of French language’ among the sources of their motivation. Such response makes this factor one of the most essential predictors of motivation. One should bear in mind, however, that the same refined beauty of French is sometimes considered to be a negative motivational factor when we turn to gender differences in the perception of French. Several researchers emphasize the fact that among school-aged boys French is often perceived as a feminine language. This is how this aspect was described in an interview by a 9-year-old boy: ‘French is the language of love and stuff’, while German is ‘the war, Hitler and all that’ (Williams et al., 2002). Kissau suggested that French is perceived by boys as a realm of women because of how it sounds. To test this hypothesis the researcher created a scale termed ‘Student perceptions of the French language’ where he included the questions such as ‘French is a gentle and pleasant-sounding language’, ‘The French language is for sissies’ and ‘I think French is more suitable for girls than boys’. The results confirmed that boys had more negative perception of French than girls. However boys scored lower than girls on almost

²¹ Where Americans Will Be Heading in 2015. The New York Times, January, 11, 2015.

all motivational scales (e.g. Desire to learn French, Integrative orientation, etc.). It is likely that such gender difference in motivation concerns not only the French language but relates to gender differences in academic motivation in general. In the current study Aesthetic Factors have a high motivational mean score (12.2) and takes a second place among both young women and men. It seems that Purdue university students outgrew the age when they might have viewed French as ‘feminine’ language.

The third and fourth places on the list are shared by Culture and Knowledge motivational orientations. This result confirms that Knowledge is a strong predictor of motivation (see Clément & Kruidenier (1983); Schmidt et al (1996); Noels et al (2000)). Also relatively high on the list is the Sociability factor, with the mean score of 10.1. This result suggests that French classes give some students a chance to meet new friends and enjoy the social aspect of the interactions in the classroom. The score obtained in my survey bears a remarkable resemblance to the one obtained by Williams *et al*. In their study, 13-15 year old school students rated the ‘group cohesion’ factor 9.99 on a 16-point scale.²² Even though their value is similar to ours, in the study of Williams and co-workers this was one of the lower indicators. The fifth place in motivational ranking among Purdue students likely means that this factor is more significant for university students than for school learners. It is quite remarkable (and probably underappreciated) that university students see French class as a valuable opportunity to socialize, even though they have ample opportunities to socialize outside of class.

Ideal Self scored 9.6, surpassing Instrumental orientation. This result may appear surprising for Purdue faculty of French. Since foreign language is a prerequisite for many of Purdue’s students one may expect that Instrumental orientation should be in the first place. However, according to the current data, Purdue students seem to favor more spiritual concepts, such as beauty of French language, interest in French culture or developing a self-image that they would like to possess. In other words, they prefer to think that there is a higher purpose for them being in the classroom than simply a desire to earn a college degree. As it turns out, this observation agrees with the previous findings: the prevalence of Ideal Self over the Instrumental orientation was also noted by

²² ‘The students in our class work well together as a group’

Oakes (2013) in his study of UK university students, as well as by Busse and Williams (2010) in their research about English students studying German.

Although Ideal Self does not rank high, it generally constitutes a source of positive motivation. If we look at the frequency of responses, we find that many participants have a neutral view of these factors. Figure 3 shows that thirty respondents gave it a combined score of 7, which essentially means “I do not know” (e.g. 2+2+2+1 combination of the scores). However, fifty one respondents gave it a score of 11 or 12, which means “I agree” (e.g. 3+3+3+3). In my opinion, such disposition proves the validity of Ideal Self as a motivational orientation and demonstrates that it is being recognized by many Purdue students.

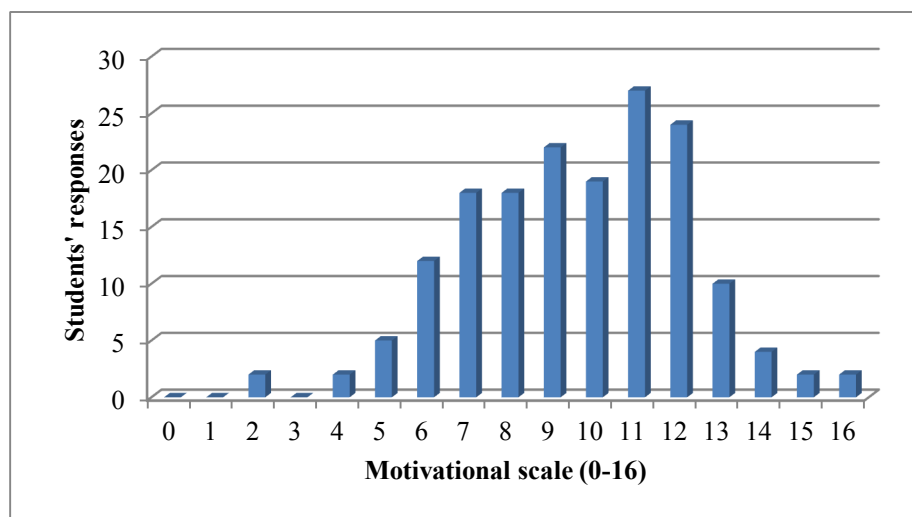


Figure 3: Frequency of responses for Ideal Self orientation

Instrumental orientation ranks relatively low among Purdue students, with the mean score 8.0. At least in part, this is caused by disparate nature of the ‘exam’ and ‘job’ clusters. To test this conjecture, the researcher calculated separately mean scores (out of 4.0) for each of the four items which represent the Instrumental orientation:

I study French because it can help me to find a good job.	1.9/4
Increasing my French proficiency will have financial benefits for me.	1.9/4
I study French because of language requirements in my degree program.	2.7/4
The main reason why I need to learn French is to pass an examination.	1.5/4

As we can see, the mean scores for the two ‘job’ items are identical. The students recognize that mastery of French holds certain pragmatic value, but this value seems to be rather limited. Foreign language is a requirement for 90% of the participants (mean score 2.7). This is simply a statement of fact, which does not depend on the students’ perception of French learning. At the same time students do not like to think that they take this class simply to pass an exam (mean score 1.5, indicating a mild degree of disagreement).

The Emigration factor also ranked relatively low among Purdue students, with mean score 7.2. However, this modest score does not tell the full story. Figure 4, indicates that about half of the students do not associate the study of French with a desire to emigrate to France or another French-speaking country. However, there is a substantial group of students who gave this orientation a high score, from 10 to 16. That means that about a quarter of respondents seriously consider a possibility of moving to France for an extended period of time or are even prepared to emigrate. Instructors of French at Purdue should be aware of this significant student constituency.

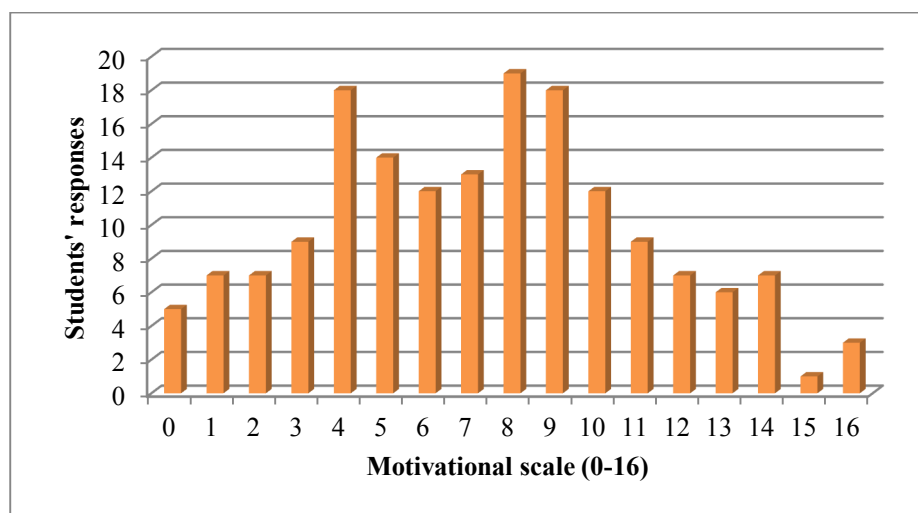


Figure 4: Frequency of responses for Emigration orientation

The lowest scores have been given to Peers’ Encouragement and Friendship orientations, with the mean values of 6.2 and 5.3, respectively. The latter result is particularly striking. As we can see from Figure 5, there is not a single student who would strongly associate his or her interest in French language with an opportunity to form a friendship or romantic relationship with a French-speaking person. The highest

scores were 11 (given by 2 respondents) and 10 (5 respondents) on a scale of 16. This means that only 7 students out of 167 have some positive expectations in this regard. To understand this result, one should bear in mind that Purdue University is located in the small city of West Lafayette where there is essentially no target-language community. Purdue students hardly have any chance to make friends or form romantic relationships with Francophones in this small town. The students are also accustomed to the idea that young Europeans whom they meet in West Lafayette usually speak fluent English. Therefore they do not see the French language as an essential mean of communication.

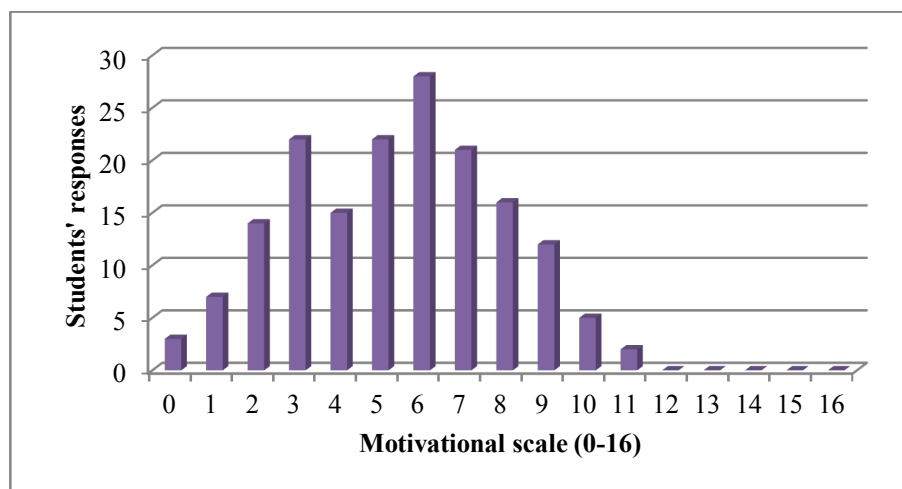


Figure 5: Frequency of responses for Friendship orientation

French remains for them a symbol of a great country with a great culture that is desirable to visit and to become acquainted with. However, this interest toward the country and culture does not seem to transfer to French people, or at least does not entail the idea of striking a friendship abroad. France represents a brand providing material and spiritual values – fashion, food, painting, books etc. But these values do not seem to be associated with the people who create them. This finding is clearly important in the context of traditional motivational research. It confirms that the concept of integrative orientation is not relevant in the situation when target-language community is not present in the learning environment (Dörnyei, 2003).

4.2.2. Gender differences

Among 167 participants there were 121 females and 46 males. Such a difference in the number of enrolled learners confirms that French is more popular among young women than young men²³. This tendency was discussed in the studies of Kissau (2006) and Williams *et al.* (2002). Both papers emphasize the fact that girls score higher on all motivational dimensions, such as intrinsic motivation and integrative orientation. They also have a more positive perception of the French language and feel more encouraged by peers, teachers and parents. If we look at Figure 6, it appears that the same holds true for Purdue students: females rate higher than males in all rubrics except Friendship.

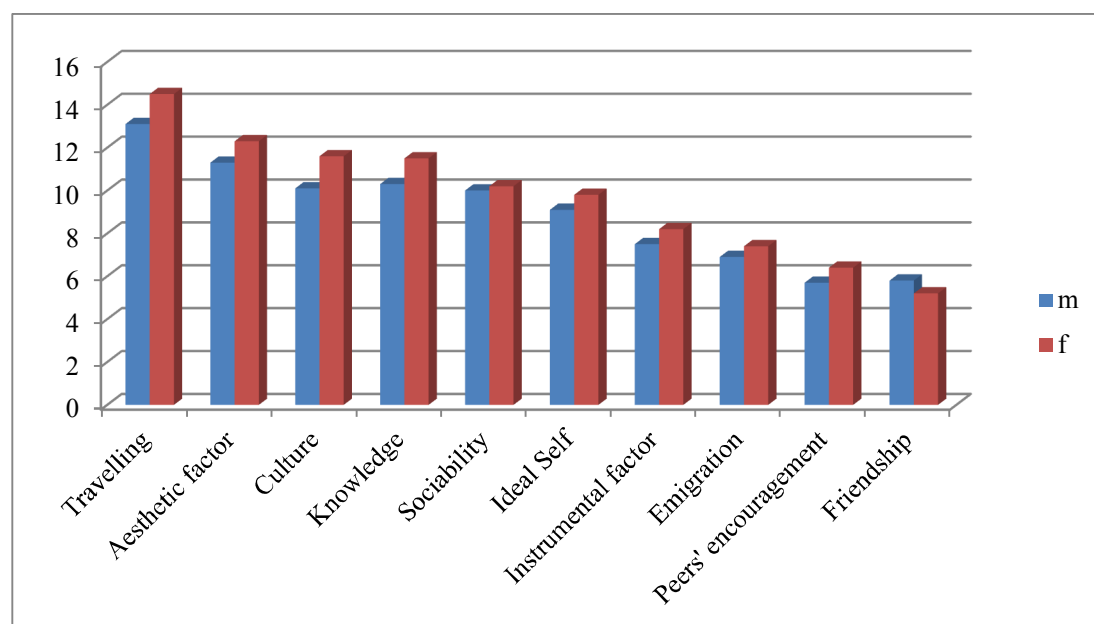


Figure 6: Gender differences in motivational orientations among Purdue students

Although gender differences are obvious across the motivational spectrum, a relatively modest size of male sample limits the statistical significance of these results. The t-test found statistically significant gender differences in four dimensions: Travelling, Aesthetic Factors, Knowledge and Culture. This could mean that young men are less inspired by all of the above notions. For example, Ruyffelaert & Hadermann

²³ It can be speculated that numerical superiority of women is a feature of all foreign language classes, not only French classes. However, a brief poll of Teaching Assistants in the German language program at Purdue suggests that there are more male than female students in German classes.

observed a big difference in the perception of French: the beauty of this language was confirmed by 67% of schoolboys versus 97% of schoolgirls (Ruyffelaert & Hadermann, 2012). But it could also be that male respondents are more restrained in their answers and more skeptical about abstract concepts, such as beauty of French or cultural/knowledge values. Although the difference in Ideal Self orientation formally does not rise to the level of statistical significance, it seems that this factor is also more important for young women.

Table 5: Mean scores according to the gender of respondents (Purdue University students)

Motivational orientation	Female (out of 16)	Male (out of 16)	Significance of the gender difference (p)
Travelling	14.5	13.1	0.00
Aesthetic Factors	12.3	11.3	0.01
Culture	11.6	10.3	0.00
Knowledge	11.5	10.1	0.00
Sociability	10.2	10.0	0.58
Ideal Self	9.8	9.1	0.12
Instrumental orientation	8.2	7.5	0.08
Emigration	7.4	6.9	0.51
Peers' Encouragement	6.4	5.7	0.15
Friendship	5.2	5.8	0.17

The entries where there is a statistically significant difference between the female and male scores ($p < 0.05$) are highlighted.

The same is true for Instrumental orientation, where women rate higher than men at the level of significance $p=0.08$. Although p does not reach the threshold level of 0.05, it is nevertheless likely that women are also more strongly motivated by pragmatic factors. This observation supports the findings of Dörnyei & Csizér (2002), but not with the results of Ruyffelaert & Hadermann (2012). The possible explanation here is that the latter study was conducted in Flanders (Belgium) where one's ability to speak French is important for finding a job, unlike in the USA or in Hungary.

Of interest, male Purdue students rated on par with female students in the Sociability category. Moreover, men rated higher than women in the Friendship category, even though this difference fails to meet the standard of statistical significance (see

Figure 6 and Table 5). This is consistent with the results of Williams *et al.* (2002), who found that both girls and boys attach equal importance to their classroom interactions. This probably reflects the general pattern whereupon men are more open to the idea of meeting people (in particular, of opposite sex), which also extends to the classroom setting.

4.2.3. Intercorrelation of motivational orientations

I have characterized the interrelations between the different motivational orientations via Pearson correlation coefficients. The results are summarized in Table 6. As we can see, four motivational orientations significantly correlate with each other: Ideal Self, Knowledge, Aesthetic Factors and Culture. The pairwise Pearson coefficients among these orientations are typically higher than 0.4. Apparently, there is a commonality which allows us to consolidate all these dimensions into one cluster. All mentioned orientations are related to internal and spiritual aspects of language perception. French is perceived as a source of knowledge, culture, self-development, and beauty. In other words, French is a source of inspiration. We propose the overarching term ‘Idealistic motivation’ for the identified cluster of motivational orientations.

Other orientations are all more external and practical – Emigration, Friendship, Peers’ Encouragement, Sociability and Travel. They are less strongly correlated with each other and also with the ‘Idealistic’ dimensions. Indeed, these areas are more ‘specialized’ – someone who wants to socialize in French classroom may or may not be interested in emigration. The correlation coefficients for those factors typically fall in the range from 0.2 to 0.4 (color-coded yellow in Table 6). There are only few exceptions, e.g. Culture shows a strong correlation with Travelling, and Friendship shows a strong correlation with Emigration (both patterns are highly intuitive).

Instrumental orientation is in a category of its own, showing very little correlation with all other factors. Indeed, Instrumental motivation is dictated by external circumstances: whether student’s program requires him or her to take a foreign language class or whether student’s chosen line of occupation may involve the use of foreign languages (e.g. tourism and hospitality or international trade). These factors have little to do with a student’s appreciation of French as a pleasant-sounding language or indeed any other motivational orientation.

Table 6: Intercorrelations between motivational orientations (Purdue University students)

		KN	AE	CUL	EM	FR	PE	SOC	TR	IN
IS		.69	.51	.50	.39	.35	.57	.27	.28	.06
KN			.53	.49	.29	.24	.49	.35	.33	-.02
AE				.49	.35	.29	.18	.31	.27	-.13
CUL					.49	.33	.39	.29	.42	.02
EM						.52	.22	.13	.29	.05
FR							.34	.29	.16	.04
PE								.30	.13	.16
SOC									.19	.14
TR										.08
IN										

The values of Pearson correlation coefficient greater than 0.4 are color-coded blue, the values between 0.2 and 0.4 are color-coded yellow, and the values less than 0.2 are color-coded white.

4.2.4. Time of studying French and motivational orientations

I hypothesize that motivational orientations' scores may correlate with how long students study French. Indeed, only highly motivated students continue to study language over the course of many years. Furthermore, after several years the students usually see that their efforts bear fruit and they can communicate in French with relative fluency. They must find it enjoyable and therefore their motivation further increases. Thus we expect that there is a certain 'positive reinforcement' mechanism that is at play.

The collected data confirm my hypothesis. Figure 7 shows that overall motivation positively correlates with Time of Studying French. As we can see, there is a weak ($r = .25$), but significant ($p = .001$) growth of motivation with time. For those who study French for one or two years the average score for overall motivation is 90 (out of 160). At the same time, for those who study French for six years or more the score is 100 (out of 160). Does it mean that all motivational orientations show positive changes with the time of studying French?

Table 7 shows that all motivational dimensions positively correlate with the time of studying French, with the single exception of Instrumental orientation. Even if Pearson

coefficients are relatively modest, five of the observed correlations are found to be statistically significant, and three more are very close to the level of statistical significance.

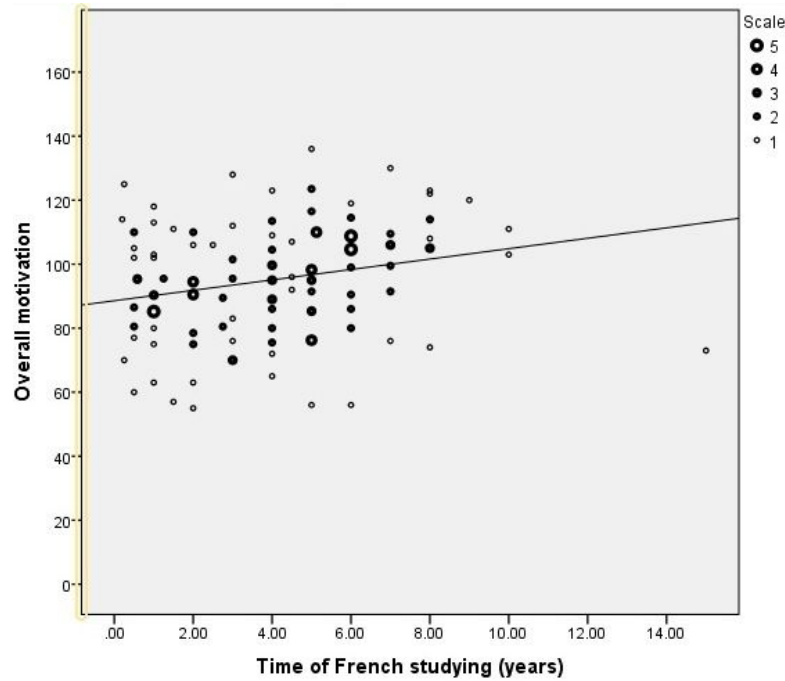


Figure 7: Correlation of overall motivation with the time of studying French

Table 7: Correlations between Time of studying French and motivational orientations
(Purdue University students)

Motivational orientation	Pearson coefficient	Significance (<i>p</i>)
Ideal Self	.28	.00
Aesthetic Factors	.25	.00
Travelling	.22	.01
Culture	.18	.02
Peers' Encouragement	.16	.04
Knowledge	.15	.05
Friendship	.14	.08
Emigration	.14	.08
Sociability	.08	.27
Instrumental orientation	-.06	.47

Those correlations that are statistically significant are highlighted.

Figure 9 shows that the longer students study French the more they like how it sounds. For students who study the language for less than 3 years the perception of

aesthetic aspect of French varies from very low to very high. However, the vast majority of more experienced learners (> 5 years) have a distinctly favorable view of the language, as reflected in the scores ranging from medium to very high. In this group there are only a handful of students (3) with a neutral or mildly negative attitude.

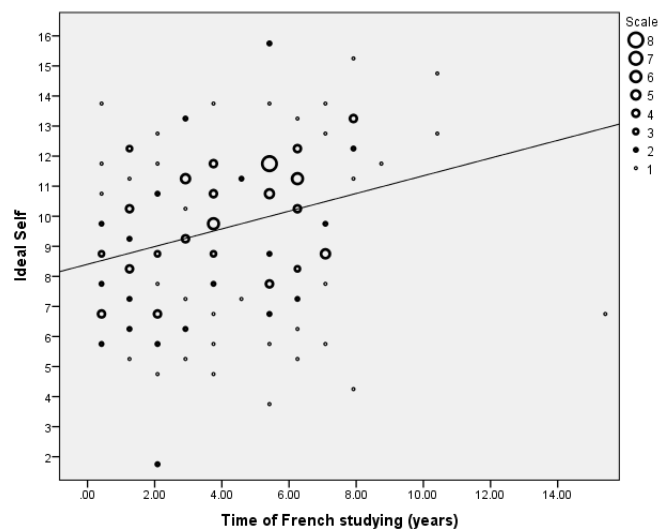


Figure 8: Correlation of the Ideal Self score with the time of studying French

Similar correlations are also found for Travelling and Culture, where scores tend to be high among long-time learners. The more students learn about France and other Francophone countries the stronger is their desire to visit and the greater is their appreciation of the culture.

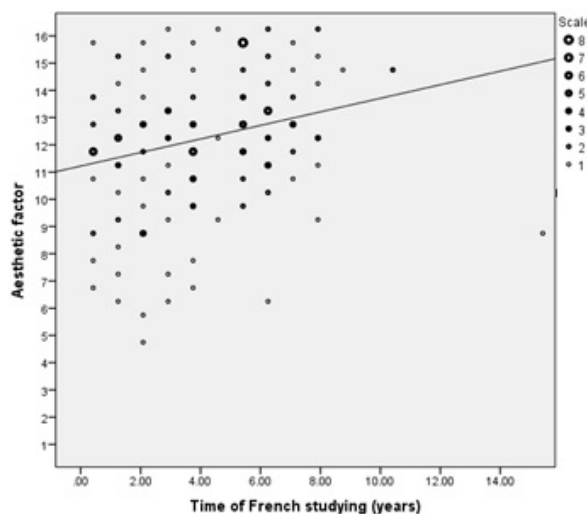


Figure 9: Correlation of the Aesthetic orientation with the time of studying French

In the case of Peer's Encouragement the correlation is less pronounced and largely due to a small group of relatively enthusiastic long-term learners. Indeed, the sensitivity to friends' opinion is probably a constant characteristic which does not significantly change with the time spent studying French. For the same reason only a very weak correlation is observed for Sociability. The ability to enjoy the social side of education is more or less a fixed trait and does not strongly depend on the history of studying French.

A modest degree of correlation is observed for the Knowledge orientation. Knowledge is a rather rational category, as opposed to such 'emotional' dimensions as Aesthetic Factors or Ideal Self. It is apparently clear for both beginners and advanced learners that there is valuable knowledge associated with language acquisition and they attach certain (significant) value to it.

Finally, no statistically significant correlation is found for Friendship and Emigration, and not even a hint of correlation is observed for the Instrumental orientation. As already pointed out above, the latter is dictated by external circumstances and has very little to do with any other parameters explored in this study.

4.2.5. Summary of the results

Let us summarize the most interesting findings about Purdue students' motivation to learn French: (1) the highest scores have been given to Travelling, Aesthetic, Culture and Knowledge orientations; (2) Instrumental orientation and Friendship obtained notably low scores; (3) four motivational dimensions – Ideal Self, Knowledge, Aesthetic Factors, and Culture – are strongly correlated with each other. This leads us to suggest that they represent the common underlying theme which can be described as 'Idealistic motivation'. Three of these factors, along with the more practical Travelling orientation, are shown to be the most prominent sources of motivation; (4) the scores representing 'Idealistic motivation', as well as Travelling orientation, tend to increase with the time of studying French, i.e. they are appreciably higher for long-time learners than for beginners; (5) women's overall level of motivation is slightly higher than that of men, particularly with regard to the most important motivational orientations.

4.3. American private courses students

(Alliance Française de Chicago and Alliance Française de Cincinnati)

4.3.1. Means' comparison

Figure 10 and Table 8 provide the summary of the overall mean scores on all motivational orientations from the entire sample of Alliance Française American students (N=80).

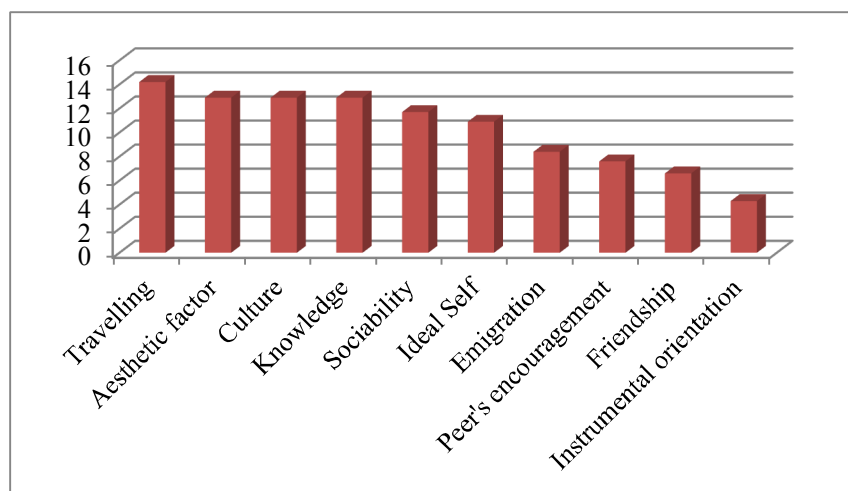


Figure 10: Mean scores of different motivational orientations

Table 8: Mean scores for motivational orientations of Alliance Française students in the USA

Motivational orientation	Mean (out of 16)	Std. Deviation	Cronbach α
Travelling	14.2	1.7	0.7
Aesthetic Factors	12.9	2.3	0.7
Culture	12.9	2.4	0.7
Knowledge	12.9	2.2	0.7
Sociability	11.7	2.8	0.7
Ideal Self	10.9	2.5	0.7
Emigration	8.4	3.9	0.7
Peers' Encouragement	7.6	3.0	0.7
Friendship	6.6	3.2	0.8
Instrumental orientation	4.3	3.2	0.7

Reliability analysis established acceptable Cronbach α scores for all motivational orientations. Note that Instrumental orientation is self-consistent for this group with

reasonably high Cronbach α of 0.7. Clearly, the questions concerning program requirements and examinations are irrelevant for the majority of Alliance Française learners (except possibly several college students in the group) and thus are almost uniformly answered in the negative. To test the validity of the Instrumental orientation data, the author excluded these two items and doubled the scores for two other items pertaining to job prospects and financial benefits. Following this procedure the average score for the Instrumental orientation became a little higher (5.3), but still retained its position at the bottom of the motivational ranking.

Paired samples t-tests between all orientations are summarized in Table 9.

Inspection of these results produces the following ranking:

- (1) Travelling orientation;
- (2-4) Aesthetic Factors, Culture, and Knowledge orientations, where mean scores are indistinguishable within the statistical margin of error;
- (5-6) Sociability and Ideal Self orientations;
- (7-9) Emigration, Peers' Encouragement and Friendship;
- (10) Instrumental orientation.

Table 9: Pairwise comparison of means for overall motivational orientations (Alliance Française students, USA)

	TR	AE	CUL	KN	SOC	IS	EM	PE	FR	INS
TR	14.2	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
AE		12.9	1.00	1.00	.02	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
CUL			12.9	1.00	.04	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
KN				12.9	.01	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
SOC					11.7	.98	.00	.00	.00	.00
IS						10.9	.00	.00	.00	.00
EM							8.4	1.00	.00	.00
PE								7.6	1.00	.00
FR									6.6	.00
INS										4.3

The entries on the diagonal are mean scores for different orientations, color-coded blue. The entries off the diagonal are p -values for difference between means; those entries that are greater than 0.05 are color-coded pink, indicating that the difference is statistically insignificant.

Seventy five learners (93% of all participants) strongly associate learning French with the desire/possibility to travel to France or other Francophone countries. Some comments that participants added to the questionnaire were: ‘I’ve purchased a house in France’ or ‘I go to France several times per year’. These remarks show that traveling to France is not an abstract concept for Alliance Française learners, but rather a part of their lives. Clearly, such comments are made by relatively well-off people, who can afford several transatlantic flights per year. Figure 11 suggests that learning French language outside college is mostly a hobby of middle- and upper middle class Americans.

A remarkable consistency has been shown by Alliance Française students in scoring Aesthetic Factors, Culture and Knowledge. All three factors scored on average 12.9, which means that participants strongly associate their interest in learning French with the rich culture, beauty of the language, and its educational value. Two participants mentioned that they study French ‘because this is good and useful brain activity’. One of them emphasized that this is different from the ‘Knowledge’ motivation. The latter focuses on ‘receiving information’, whereas the former involves a sort of brain exercise which should keep one’s brain in good ‘working order’. This could potentially be an additional motivational dimension, of which I was unaware when developing my questionnaire.

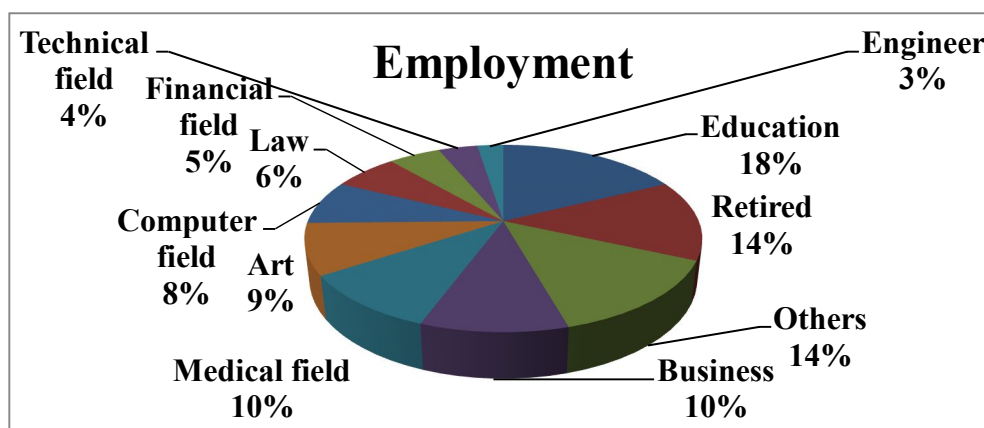


Figure 11: Main employment areas for French learners from Alliance Française (USA)²⁴

²⁴ The group of ‘others’ includes 2 self-employed persons, 2 stay-at home mothers, 2 social workers, 1 journalist, 1 government employee, and 1 pantry worker

The fifth and sixth place in the ranking is shared by Sociability and Ideal Self factors. The mean Sociability score is 11.9, which is a fairly high value. This result suggests that participants appreciate and enjoy the opportunity to communicate with their classmates. It appears that the students like the spirit of cooperation, which represents an important component of the language learning in Alliance Française. Even if the mean score for Ideal Self is somewhat lower, 10.9, this factor seems to be important for at least half of the respondents. 47 participants gave it a score from 11 to 16, mostly answering ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’. This corresponds to 59% of positive responses, suggesting that more than half of all learners equate studying their language-learning activities with self-improvement and self-respect.

Emigration has received 26% of positive answers (scores from 11 to 16) and 30% of negative answers (scores from 0 to 6). The most popular score was 8, which essentially means “I do not know” (e.g. 2+2+2+2 combination of the scores). Thus there is a sizeable group of people for whom emigration remains a distinct possibility, another sizeable group of people for whom emigration is not an option, and the majority which tends to be neutral on this subject and probably have never given it much thought.

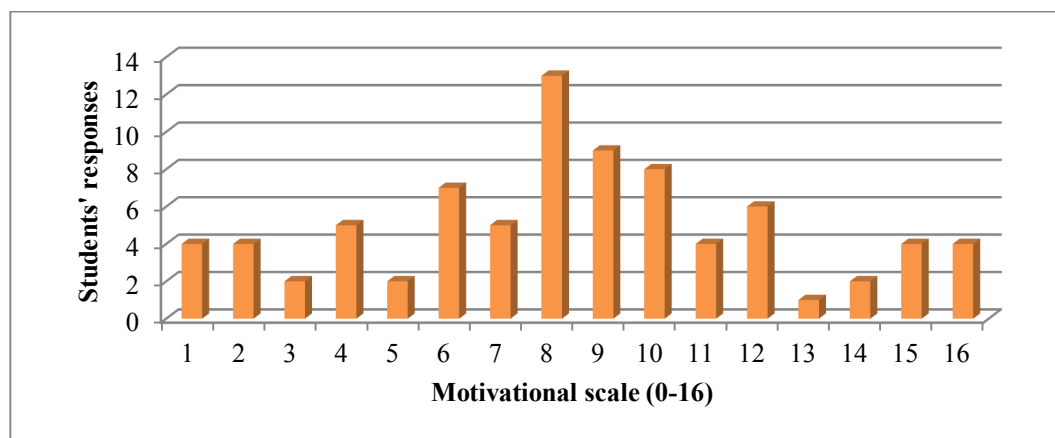


Figure 12: Frequency of responses for Emigration orientation

As for the Peers' Encouragement factor, the low mean score is to be expected. The majority of participants are 40+ years of age. Peers' approval is probably less important for well-established adults who have already succeeded in life.

Friendship motivational orientation has received only 9 positive responses (scores from 11 to 16). The overwhelming majority of respondents do not associate studying French with friendships or romantic relationships with Francophones. However, some

questionnaires contained comments such as ‘My husband is French’, ‘My son-in-law is French’ or ‘My French friends encourage me’. This is a consequence of ethnic diversity which is typical for such big cities as Cincinnati and especially Chicago, which is the third largest metropolis in the country. With the population of approximately 9.5 mln people, Chicago metropolitan area provides considerable opportunities for contacts among people of different nationalities. There are certainly many French speakers in the Chicago area. However, while this is clearly an important consideration for some of the participants, the majority attaches no significance to personal relationships with Francophones. In a setting like Chicago, the English language serves people’s communication needs well enough. Also well-established individuals such as those who are enrolled in Alliance Française courses may not be actively seeking to start new relationships – or otherwise pay little attention to linguistic background of their future friends or partners.

Instrumental motivational orientation received the lowest score of all. At first glance, this result may appear surprising. One could expect that in a big city, such as Chicago, mastery of French may lead to certain job and career opportunities. Some participants made comments such as ‘I work for a French company’ or ‘I study French because I work in a French restaurant’. However, only a small group of people relate French language to their work situation, and even those people do not see the French language as a critical element of their professional success. This outcome is a testament to the dominance of English in international business and trade. It also suggests that learning French is a hobby, rather than a practical necessity, for the majority of Alliance Française learners.

4.3.2. Gender differences

The fact that 77% of learners are females confirms that French is more popular among women than men. More broadly, it can be speculated that women are more inclined to study foreign languages as a hobby. As usual, women learners are generally more motivated, although there are certain exceptions to this pattern. Table 10 shows that there are three categories that rise to the level of statistical significance: women score higher in Aesthetic Factors and Culture orientation, while men lead in the Instrumental

orientation category. This result is consistent with the findings of Ruyffelaert & Hadermann, who found that male learners in Flanders put instrumental motivation at the top of the list, whereas their female counterparts gave higher rating to the integrative motivation. The same trend was observed earlier by Ludwig (1983). However, instrumentality is not always a typical ‘male’ trait. Among school learners, girls often outscore boys in this dimension (see Bacon et al, 1992; Kissau, 2006; Taboada et al, 2011). How to explain the observation made in this study that men display higher level of instrumental motivation than women? Perhaps, adult men see more real-life opportunities to profit from learning French. In any event, such opportunities are rare as evidenced by generally low Instrumental motivation scores.

Table 10: Mean scores according to the gender of respondents (Alliance Française students, USA)

Motivational orientation	Female (out of 16)	Male (out of 16)	Significance of the gender difference
Aesthetic Factors	13.3	11.3	.00
Instrumental orientation	3.8	5.8	.03
Culture	13.2	11.9	.05
Sociability	12	10.7	.11
Knowledge	13.1	12.2	.19
Friendship	6.5	7.2	.44
Emigration	8.2	8.9	.46
Ideal Self	11	10.7	.63
Travelling	4.3	14.1	.75
Peers’ Encouragement	7.5	7.8	.75

The entries where there is a statistically significant difference between the female and male scores ($p < 0.05$) are highlighted.

The relatively modest sample size, particularly with respect to male learners, prevents me from drawing any further conclusions about gender differences. There is an intriguing possibility that men score higher than women in the Friendship category, although this result does not rise to the level of statistical significance. This is in contrast with several previous studies where females have been found to possess a greater level of integrative motivation (Gardner and Lambert (1972), Bacon and al (1992)). One should bear in mind, however, that studying language at private courses is completely

voluntarily and rather expensive. This means that attending such courses requires a strong motivation irrespective of gender. Hence in terms of gender differences the picture may be different from the one found in the school or college setting.

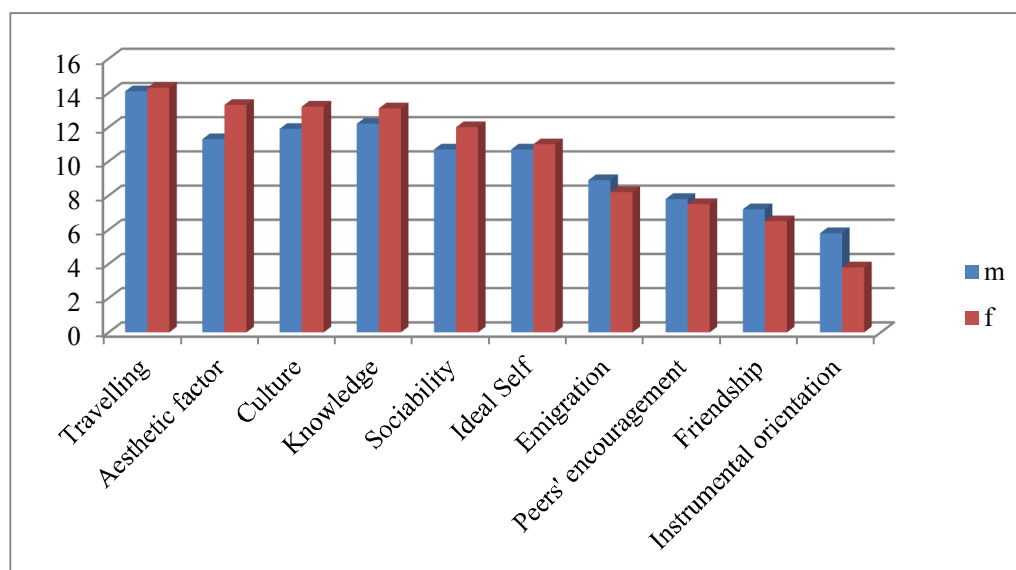


Figure 13: Gender differences in motivational orientations among Alliance Française students

4.3.3. Intercorrelation of motivational orientations

The interrelations between different motivational orientations have been characterized via Pearson correlation coefficients. The results are summarized in Table 11. As can be seen from this table, six motivational orientations strongly correlate with each other: Aesthetic Factors, Culture, Knowledge, Travel, Sociability, and Ideal Self. The pairwise Pearson coefficients among these orientations are typically higher than 0.4. It is worth noting that internal motivational factors, such as Aesthetic Factors or Culture, correlate with external factors of Travel and Sociability. It appears that students of Alliance Française draw a connection between spiritual concepts related to France and a possibility to visit the actual country. They are also eager to share their enthusiasm with their classmates. In other words, those students who appreciate everything related to France also enjoy their interactions with fellow learners of French.

Another cluster of motivational orientations is comprised of Friendship, Instrumental orientation and Emigration. These three factors are also highly intercorrelated, with Pearson coefficients exceeding 0.5. Obviously, those learners who

think about moving to France are also considering the practical aspects of such a move, i.e. job prospects and/or financial situation. For many of them such a move is associated with their existing relationships: those students who have French-speaking spouses, partners or friends have more interest in moving to France or other Francophone countries. Others are conscious of the fact that they will need to form a new social network after they relocate to France or another Francophone country.

Table 11: Intercorrelations between motivational orientations (Alliance Française students, USA)

	AE	CUL	KN	TR	SOC	IS	PE	FR	IN	EM
AE		.63	.45	.47	.42	.38	.07	-.07	.06	.24
CUL			.49	.43	.36	.30	.23	.10	.17	.31
KN				.55	.25	.55	.15	-.06	.01	.28
TR					.48	.35	.39	.04	.09	.16
SOC						.48	.24	.01	-.09	.38
IS							.39	-.08	-.06	.11
PE								.32	.29	.18
FR									.54	.51
IN										.52
EM										

The values of Pearson correlation coefficient greater than 0.4 are color-coded blue, the values between 0.2 and 0.4 are color-coded yellow, and the values less than 0.2 are color-coded white.

Aside from these two clusters, the Peer Encouragement orientation seems to be moderately well correlated with almost all other factors. As discussed above, this particular orientation has little significance for the majority of participants. Finally, there is a certain limited amount of coupling between the two clusters. Specifically, the Emigration orientation does not only correlate with the Instrumental orientation and Friendship, but also shows a moderate level of correlation with several other factors. Indeed, those people who entertain thoughts about moving to France should also be interested in French culture and various other aspects relevant to this country and its language.

4.3.4. Age and motivational orientations

We hypothesize that motivational orientations' scores may correlate with students' age. Indeed, younger and older language learners may have different sources of motivation. For example, Instrumental motivation is expected to be relevant for working students or those students who prepare to enter the workforce, whereas older students may simply enjoy the company of fellow learners sharing their interest in the French language. This pattern has been observed by Schmidt *et al.* (1996), who found that goal orientation is more typical for young adults (age 19-22), while older learners (35+) associate studying foreign language (EFL) mostly with pleasure.

My study supports this tendency. Figure 14 shows that Instrumental orientation scores among 20-45 year old students are substantially higher than among 45+ year old students. The average scores in these two age groups are 5.2 and 3.4, respectively.

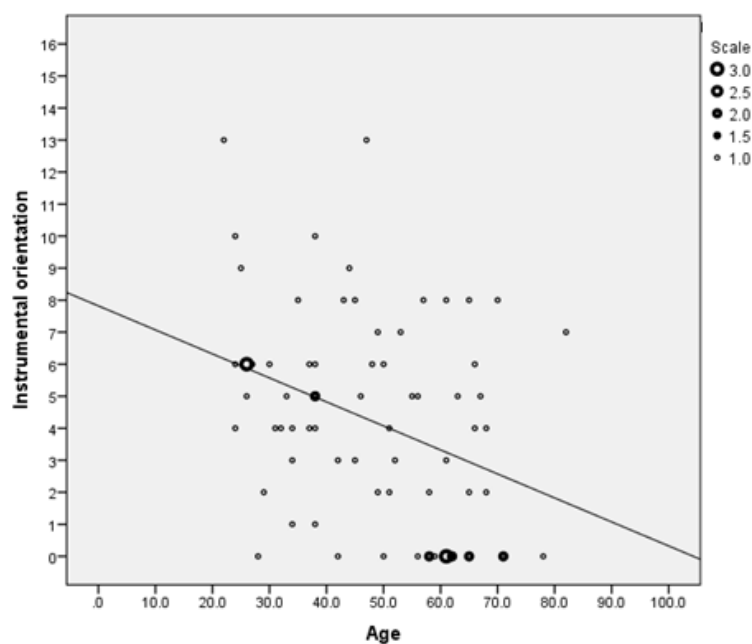


Figure 14: Correlation of the Instrumental orientation with age

The most significant correlation was found between age and Emigration orientation. Older learners are less inclined to consider a possibility of emigrating to France or another Francophone country. This is an expected outcome: as we become older, we become averse to big changes. Having found stability in their lives – a family, a

job, a house – people do not want to put everything at risk by moving to another country. On the contrary, young people who have not yet settled down are more willing to try their luck in a completely new environment.

Table 12: Correlations between students' age and motivational orientations

Motivational orientation	Pearson correlation	Significance
Emigration	-.57	.00
Instrumental orientation	-.35	.00
Aesthetic Factors	-.29	.01
Friendship	-.23	.05
Culture	-.23	.05
Knowledge	-.11	.34
Sociability	.03	.79
Travelling	-.21	.07
Ideal Self	.08	.88
Peers' Encouragement	-.07	.53

Those correlations that are statistically significant are highlighted.

Of interest, there are many negative correlations between age and motivational orientations. Five of them (mentioned above) are significant. This led me to the idea to test the correlation between the overall level of motivation and age. It turned out that overall motivation has a moderate but significant negative correlation with learner's age ($r = -.41; p = .00$).

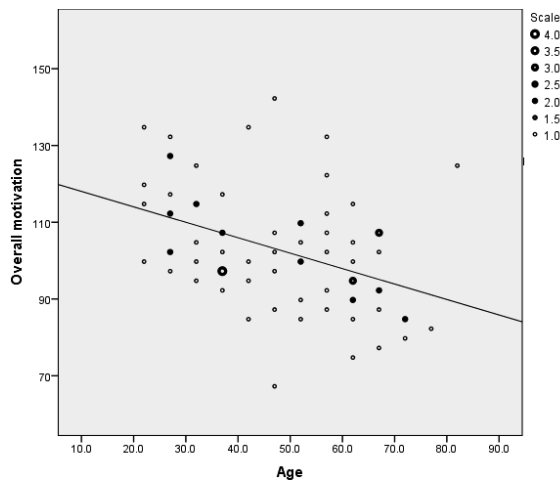


Figure 15: Correlation of Overall motivation with age

This is a remarkable result. One could expect that the motivation of older learners should be higher than that of their younger counterparts. Indeed, they seem to be more certain about the reasons to study language, more involved into the learning process, and probably have more time that can be devoted to the studies. However, Figure 15 refutes these suggestions. How can one explain this outcome?

One may suggest that the negative correlation seen in Figure 15 is dominated by pragmatic factors, such as Instrumental and Emigration orientations. To test this hypothesis, I excluded these two factors and then recalculated the correlation between overall motivation and the participants' age. However, the correlation remains negative and statistically significant ($r = -.23$; $p = .04$). Thus, the decline in overall motivation in older learners cannot be explained only by the loss of pragmatic stimuli. It is clear that certain idealistic motivational drivers, such as Culture and Aesthetic Factors, also decline in importance with age.

4.3.5. Time of studying French and motivational orientations

One may expect that motivational orientations' scores may depend on how long students study French. However, no significant correlations have been found for students at Alliance Française in Chicago and Cincinnati (see Table 13). It might be that the origin of motivation is somewhat different in the case of beginners and long-time learners. Beginners' enthusiasm is fueled mainly by expectations, whereas the long-time learners derive their enthusiasm from the sense of accomplishment. Nevertheless on balance the level of motivation appears to be near-constant.

Table 13: Correlations between Time of studying French and motivational orientations
(Alliance Française students, USA)

Motivational orientation	Pearson correlation	Significance
Sociability	.16	.16
Culture	.14	.22
Knowledge	.13	.27
Aesthetic Factors	.11	.34
Ideal Self	.09	.41
Travelling	-.05	.66
Friendship	-.04	.71
Emigration	.04	.74
Instrumental orientation	-.03	.81
Peers' Encouragement	.01	.94

4.3.6. Summary of the results

Let me summarize the most interesting findings about American private courses students' motivation to learn French: (1) the highest scores have been assigned to Travelling, Aesthetic, Culture and Knowledge orientations; (2) Instrumental orientation received conspicuously low score; (3) six motivational orientations are strongly interrelated with each other: Aesthetic Factors, Culture, Knowledge, Travel, Sociability, and Ideal Self. This cluster is largely defined by internal and spiritual values that dominate the motivation of Alliance Française learners; (4) three other orientations are strongly interrelated with each other: Friendship, Instrumental, and Emigration. This cluster clearly has a pragmatic direction and contributes relatively little to overall motivation of Alliance Française learners; (5) the overall level of motivation among female and male students is comparable. Although women appear to be somewhat more motivated on balance, the picture is different from what has been traditionally observed in school setting, where girls are far more motivated than boys; (6) the overall level of motivation shows weak but significant negative correlation with students' age. This pattern is mainly caused by a drop in the Instrumental, Emigration and Friendship scores among older students.

4.4. Russian college students

(Public Universities in St. Petersburg)

4.4.1. Means' comparison

Table 14 lists mean scores on each motivational orientation as received from students in St. Petersburg (Russia) public universities, N=109.

Let me discuss the ranking of motivation factors, as summarized in Table 14 and graphically illustrated in Figure 16. Travelling orientation is at the top of the ranking (14.2) followed by Aesthetic Factors. Culture and Knowledge are tied for the third and fourth place.

Table 14: Mean scores for motivational orientations (Public Universities in St. Petersburg)

Motivational orientation	Mean (out of 16)	Std. Deviation	Cronbach α
Travelling	14.2	1.81	0.7
Aesthetic Factors	13.1	3.05	0.7
Culture	12.1	2.64	0.7
Knowledge	11.6	2.15	0.8
Ideal Self	10.1	3.07	0.7
Sociability	8.7	3.14	0.8
Instrumental orientation	8.3	3.19	0.8
Emigration	8.3	3.56	0.7
Peers' Encouragement	8.0	2.53	0.8
Friendship	6.0	2.74	0.8

Reliability analysis yields acceptable Cronbach α scores for all motivational orientations.

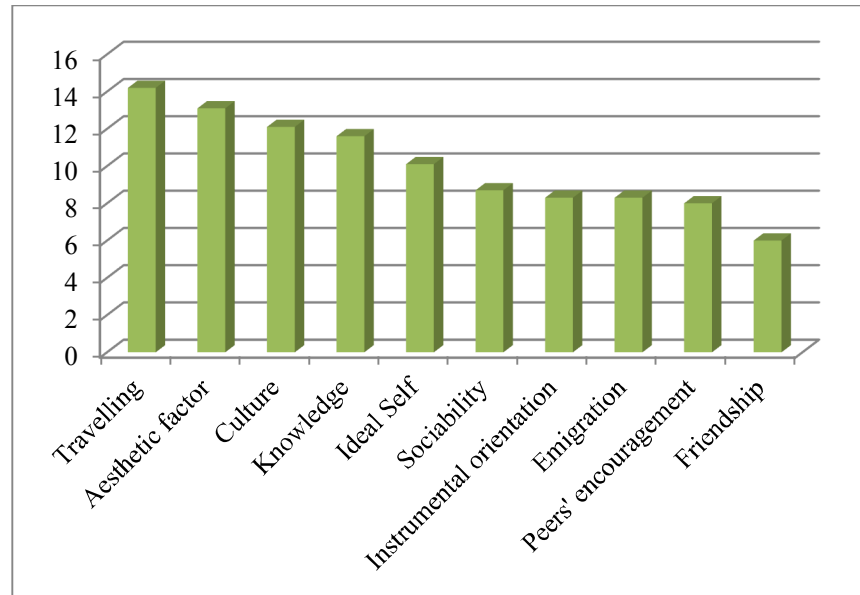


Figure 16: Mean scores of different motivational orientations for St. Petersburg public universities' students

Table 15: Pairwise comparison of means for overall motivational orientations (Public Universities in St. Petersburg)

	TR	AE	CUL	KN	IS	SOC	INS	EM	PE	FR
TR	14.2	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
AE		13.1	.01	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
CUL			12.1	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
KN				11.6	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
IS					10.1	.01	.00	.00	.00	.00
SOC						8.7	1.00	1.00	1.00	.00
INS							8.3	1.00	1.00	.00
EM								8.3	1.00	.00
PE									8.0	.00
FR										6.0

The entries on the diagonal are mean scores for different orientations, color-coded blue. The entries off the diagonal are p -values characterizing the pairwise difference between the means; those entries that are greater than 0.05 are color-coded pink, indicating that the difference is statistically insignificant.

Table 15 shows that mean scores received by Culture and Knowledge orientations are indistinguishable within statistical uncertainty. Likewise Sociability, Instrumental orientation, Emigration, and Peers' Encouragement scores are indistinguishable within statistical uncertainty ($p = 1.00$).

The researcher was surprised by the high number of uncertain answers for Knowledge orientation. Figure 17 shows that about a quarter of respondents gave a score 10 to this factor.

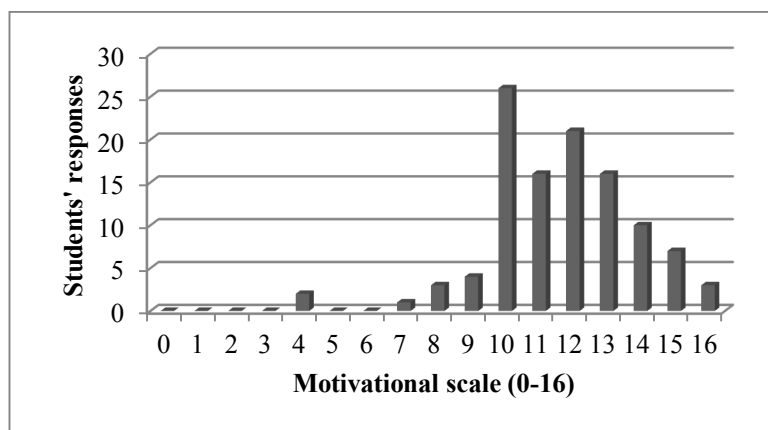


Figure 17: Frequency of responses for Knowledge orientation

A closer look at the Knowledge orientation reveals that Russian students do value French as an element of broad-based education. However they are not sure that they enjoy the challenges related to studying French.

Learning French will make me a more knowledgeable person. 3.2/4

Learning French will help me to acquire new ideas and broaden my outlook. 3.5/4

I study French because I want to be a well-educated person. 3.2/4

I enjoy studying French because I find it challenging. 1.7/4

The latter result is probably caused, at least in part, by subtle nuances of translation. The adjective 'challenging' has no exact equivalent in Russian; therefore it has been replaced with the word 'trudny' (трудный) in the Russian version of questionnaire. The precise meaning of this word is 'difficult'. Thus, the positive connotation of the English word 'challenging' (i.e. stimulating, interesting, and thought-

provoking) has disappeared in the Russian version. There are no positive connotations associated with the word ‘difficult’ in any language and, as a consequence, this question has elicited little enthusiasm from the Russian audience.

Among other motivational orientations, Ideal Self scored 10.1 surpassing five other factors. This result is noteworthy since it validates the concept of Ideal Self in the context of Russian audience. To the best of my knowledge, so far there have been no studies that would test Dörnyei’s motivational system on Russian foreign language learners. The distribution of responses, shown in Figure 18, is rather broad. There is a considerable proportion of students who strongly associate with this concept, as manifested in the scores of 14 or higher. On the other hand there is a group of students who do not share this view, as manifested in the scores of 6 or lower. Thus Ideal Self is not a universal predictor of motivation, but it is highly important for the majority of students.

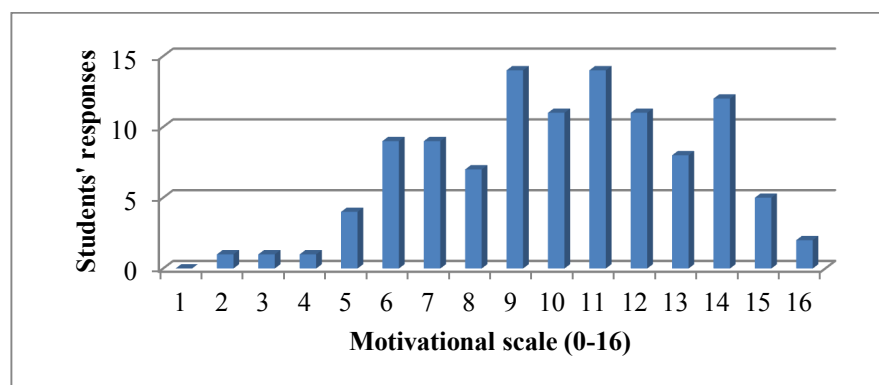


Figure 18: Frequency of responses for Ideal Self orientation

Several factors – Sociability (8.7), Instrumental orientation (8.3), Emigration (8.3), and Peers’ Encouragement (8.0) – are tied for fifth-to-ninth place in the ranking of motivational factors. Since Instrumental orientation combines two dimensions, exam- and job-related, it is instructive to separately discuss all individual questions within this category.

I study French because it can help me to find a good job.	2.4 /4
Increasing my French proficiency will have financial benefits for me.	2.1 /4
I study French because of language requirements in my degree program.	2.0 /4
The main reason why I need to learn French is to pass an examination.	1.8 /4

The third question in this list deserves a special comment. As discussed above, foreign language is a prerequisite for all Russian students participating in this study, but they have a choice between English and several other tongues. As a consequence, some students view French classes as compulsory, while others see them as optional. Generally, students are more interested in boosting their resume (2.4) and potentially landing a higher-paying job (2.1) through learning French, rather than simply worrying about exams (1.8).²⁵ However, on the absolute scale all of these scores are relatively low, indicating that pragmatic goals take a back seat to more idealistic motives.

This is consistent with the relatively low mean score found for the Emigration orientation. Only 26% of the participant express considerable interest in moving to a French-speaking country (scores 11 or higher) to this motivational factor. On the other hand, 24% of respondents tend to ignore or reject this possibility (scores 5 or lower). The remaining half of the students is neutral on this subject.

It is interesting that Russian students generally do not associate their studies of French language with a prospect of securing a better job or emigrating. Looking back at 1990-ies, we find a very different picture. Dr. Dmitry Lisachenko who teaches French in St. Petersburg State University has told me that in mid-nineties he offered elective courses of French. These courses were immensely popular and oversubscribed (Lisachenko, 2005). This was the time when St. Petersburg State University started to develop exchange programs with France. As a part of these programs, university administrators decided to offer an elective course that would allow students to practice French (geared toward a scientific exchange). It was initially anticipated that 5-10 students will become enrolled in such course. It was a great surprise for Dr. Lisachenko when he found about 30 students attending the first class. To fully appreciate this response, one should bear in mind that the only form of advertising at that time was a single flyer pinned to the door of the departmental office. After several weeks the news of the course spread through word of mouth and the class size swelled to ca. 50 students. These students came after the entire day of lectures, seminars and labs (most were physics and mathematics majors) to sit in the French class from 5 to 8 pm. They received

²⁵ The difference between these scores is statistically significant.

no formal credit – they were inspired solely by the idea that they could continue their studies abroad and pursue career in research. Dr. Lisachenko remembers that occasionally students stayed after class and talked about science or just listened to French music until very late in the evening. The course remained wildly popular until the end of the 1990s. However, by the beginning of 2000 the situation changed. Fewer students came to class (even though many of their schoolmates by that time had started successful academic careers in France). Finally the course was canceled. As it appears the fundamental reason for this dramatic attitude shift is the rapid improvement of the economic situation in Russia in the beginning of the new century – essentially, the students saw a possibility to find reasonably high-paying jobs at home.

The last place in motivational ranking belongs to the Friendship orientation. Figure 19 shows that students from Russian public universities hardly see any connection between their studies of French and a possibility of developing personal relationships with Francophones. While there are a handful of cases where Russian students want to communicate freely with their French-speaking friends, most of them do not acknowledge any such motivation.

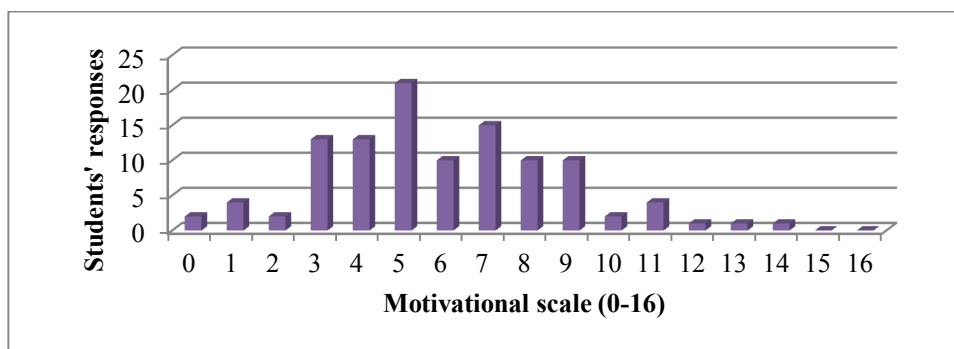


Figure 19: Frequency of responses for Friendship orientation

4.4.2. Gender differences

Among 109 participants there were 88 females and 21 males. This proportion confirms another time that French is more popular among young women than young men. Figure 20 suggests that women score slightly higher than men in all rubrics except Emigration (where the scores are equal) and Sociability (where men score higher). Although apparent gender differences are seen across the motivational spectrum, only two orientations show a statistically significant difference: Ideal Self and Knowledge.

The difference in overall motivation between female and male students (101.5 vs. 95.4) also does not rise to the level of statistical significance ($p=.135$). Traditionally Russian schoolgirls outperform schoolboys in terms of academic achievements (Labib, 2002); one may expect that this pattern should also be reflected in their level of motivation. It appears, however, that in college this difference tends to level out. One should also bear in mind that the size of the male sample in this study is limited, which makes it impossible to draw any general conclusions.

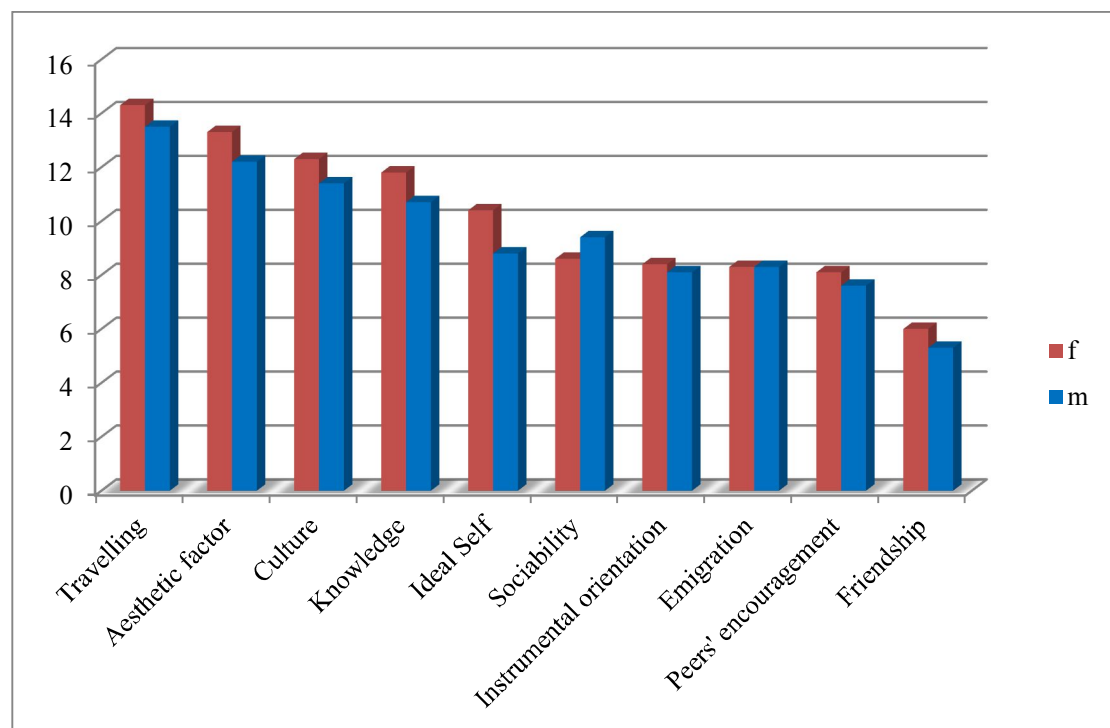


Figure 20: Gender differences in motivational orientations among students from St. Petersburg public universities

Table 16: Mean scores according to the gender of respondents (Public Universities in St. Petersburg)

Motivational orientation	Female (out of 16)	Male (out of 16)	Significance of the gender difference
Travelling	14.3	13.5	0.23
Aesthetic Factors	13.3	12.2	0.20
Culture	12.3	11.4	0.09
Knowledge	11.8	10.7	0.01
Ideal Self	10.4	8.8	0.03
Sociability	8.6	9.4	0.35
Instrumental orientation	8.4	8.1	0.76
Emigration	8.3	8.3	0.96
Peers' Encouragement	8.1	7.6	0.45
Friendship	6.0	5.3	0.27

The entries where there is a statistically significant difference between the female and male scores ($p < 0.05$) are highlighted.

Considering the category of Ideal Self, where the gender difference is statistically significant, my results are consistent with the prior findings of Ryan (2009). It is instructive to determine which particular items are responsible for the observed gender difference.

Items representing Ideal Self orientation	M (out of 4)	F (out of 4)	Sig
1. I can imagine myself speaking French and impressing my friends.	2.0	2.3	.469
2. I feel that studying French makes my life more meaningful.	1.7	2.2	.112
3. I like to think of myself as someone who is able to speak French.	2.5	3.0	.038
4. Being able to speak French is good for my self-respect.	2.4	3.0	.045

As we can see, some women as well as men would like to have a chance to impress their friends with their French-speaking abilities. However, women 1) are more aware of their self-image (item 3), 2) are more inclined to see the mastery of a foreign language as an element of their self-respect (item 4), and 3) believe that this makes their life more meaningful (item 2). The spiritual component of the motivation, which is

generally strong in learners of French, appears to be more pronounced in women than in men. Turning to psychology research, one finds that men typically score higher than women in self-esteem (Kling et al, 1999) and assertiveness (Cross & Madson, 1997). It might be hypothesized that women seek additional opportunities for validation and therefore tend to view French as a confidence-booster. In turn, this may lead to higher Ideal Self scores among female participants. On the other hand, women are known to be more flexible and more inclined to agree with an interlocutor (Lehmann et al, 2013). This may mean that they are more perceptive to abstract concepts such as invoked in question 2 and, simply speaking, take those issues more seriously than men.

Of interest, the only orientation where male Russian students scored higher than female students is the Sociability factor. This seems to indicate that men enjoy classroom communication more than women. According to the recent research, men tend to be more active in the classroom, take initiative and often dominate the discussion; on the other hand, women adopt a more passive model of behavior, usually supporting rather than initiating discussions (Gunnarsson, 1997; Blair, 2000; Julé, 2005). It appears that men enjoy the social interactions in a more open, competitive setting such as a French language classroom, whereas women prefer more intimate and collaborative settings.

4.4.3. Intercorrelation of motivational orientations

I have characterized the interrelations between different motivational factors via Pearson correlation coefficients. The results are summarized in Table 17. As we can see, there is a cluster of idealistic orientations that all strongly correlate with each other: Ideal Self, Aesthetic Factors, Culture, and Knowledge. A more earthly Travelling dimension is also a part of this cluster. The pairwise correlation coefficients within this group are typically high, in excess of 0.4. There is an additional group of factors that is connected to this cluster: Peers' Encouragement, Sociability, Friendship, and Emigration. These additional factors are characterized by Pearson coefficients greater than 0.2. Of note, interest in Emigration strongly correlates with Friendship and Travelling orientations. Apparently, those who would like to move to France or another French-speaking country are also interested in personal interactions with Francophones; naturally, they also like the idea of visiting France.

In summary, there is an idealistic cluster, which shows strong internal correlations. This cluster is strongly coupled to the Travelling and also linked to essentially all other motivational orientations, except the Instrumental one. This suggests that the motivation in this group is broadly based – a motivated student derives his/her motivation from essentially all sources.

At the same time, the Instrumental orientation is in the category of its own. It does not correlate with any other factor except two, Aesthetic Factors and Sociability, where it shows statistically significant correlations. In both cases the correlations are negative. As it seems the pragmatically minded students care less about the beauty of French language and do not enjoy the company of their classmates quite as much. These observations appear to be quite intuitive.

Table 17: Intercorrelations between motivational orientations (Public Universities in St. Petersburg)

	IS	AE	CUL	TR	KN	PE	SOC	FR	EM	IN
IS		.64	.48	.63	.54	.38	.33	.25	.39	-.04
AE			.62	.53	.38	.27	.39	.33	.42	-.22
CUL				.51	.34	.23	.27	.26	.27	-.13
TR					.50	.33	.27	.34	.45	-.03
KN						.27	.14	.08	.18	.06
PE							.33	.33	.23	.04
SOC								.29	.19	-.30
FR									.59	-.09
EM										.07
IN										

The values of Pearson correlation coefficient greater than 0.4 are color-coded blue, the values between 0.2 and 0.4 are color-coded yellow, and the values less than 0.2 are color-coded white.

4.4.4. Time of studying French and motivational orientations

My initial hypothesis is that motivational orientations' scores should increase with the time of studying French. Indeed, one may assume that only strongly motivated students continue studying language over the course of many years. On the other hand,

time works in the students' favor. After struggling for several years with French grammar, they get to the stage where they can enjoy a relatively good command of the language. Thus, one may expect that time and the overall level of motivation should form a positive feedback loop.

However the analysis of the collected data does not support this conjecture. Table 18 demonstrates that there is not a single motivational dimension that would show a statistically significant correlation with the time of studying French. The only correlation that approaches the level of statistical significance is the one with the Culture orientation (students tend to be more interested in French culture after several years of studying the language).

Table 18: Correlations between Time of studying French and motivational orientations
(Public Universities in St. Petersburg)

Motivational orientation	Pearson correlation	Significance
Travelling	.05	.63
Aesthetic Factors	-.06	.51
Culture	.16	.10
Knowledge	.04	.65
Ideal Self	-.10	.29
Sociability	-.04	.67
Instrumental orientation	.03	.76
Emigration	-.05	.59
Peers' Encouragement	-.04	.71
Friendship	.05	.59

Shown in Figure 21 is the dependence of overall motivation on the time of studying French. Clearly, it fails to show the expected positive correlation. Instead the level of motivation remains essentially unchanged with time. Of note, the initial level of overall motivation for learners of French in St. Petersburg public universities is respectable, 100 out of 160. Why does the university fail to further boost the students' motivation? First of all, there is not enough time. As mentioned above, all students are obligated to learn English for at least two years. Studies of French are usually limited to no more than two years. This is not enough for the learning process to bear fruit.

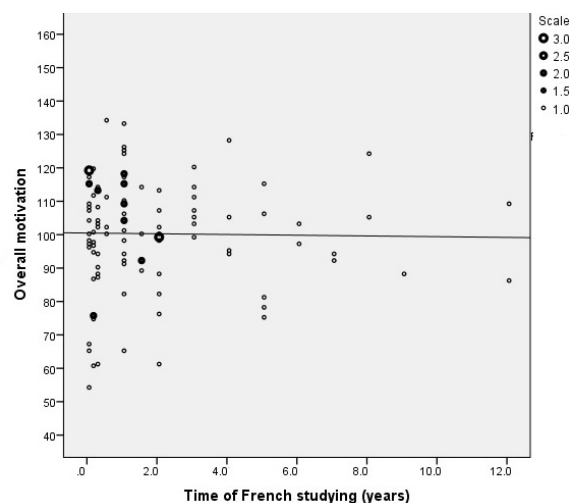


Figure 21: Correlation between overall motivation and the time of studying French

On the other hand it should be pointed out that in most cases the program offered by Russian public universities is focused on scientific French. Students spend most of their time in class translating research papers, penning scientific texts, etc. There is no or little free-flowing conversation, to say nothing about such activities as wine-tasting or watching a movie about Loire valley castles. Perhaps it is not surprising that their level of motivation does not increase in this situation.

4.4.5. Summary of the results

Let me summarize the most interesting findings about the motivation of students from St. Petersburg (Russia) public universities who study French: (1) the highest-scoring motivational orientations are Travelling, Aesthetic, Culture and Knowledge; (2) the concept of Ideal Self orientation was tested on a Russian audience for the first time. The relatively high score received by this factor proves its validity for Russian university students; (3) students from St. Petersburg universities do not strongly associate studying French with a prospect of finding a better job or emigrating: we believe that there has been a dramatic change in attitude since the 1990s; (4) strong intercorrelations have been found between the internal, spiritual aspects of language perception (Culture, Knowledge, Aesthetic Factors, Ideal Self) as well as factors related to the possibility to visit/live in France (Travelling, Emigration), i.e. Russian students are mainly motivated by idealistic factors, but also want to get a real-life taste of France; (5) Instrumental motivation shows little correlation with any other dimension; in fact, it is negatively correlated with some

other factors, suggesting that pragmatic attitude tends to displace other sources of motivation; (6) female students show somewhat higher level of motivation, with statistically significant differences observed for Ideal Self and Knowledge orientations; (7) the level of motivation among Russian students is reasonably high, but fails to increase with the time of studying French. The latter is likely explained by the curriculum limitations, both in terms of content and duration of studies.

4.5. Russian private courses students

(Alliance Française de St. Pétersbourg)

4.5.1. Means' comparison

Table 19 provides the overall mean scores for the entire sample of Alliance Française Russian students (N=257) on each motivational orientation.

Table 19: Means for overall motivational orientations (Alliance Française de St. Pétersbourg)

Motivational orientation	Mean (out of 16)	Std. Deviation	Cronbach α
Travelling	14.1	1.8	0.7
Aesthetic Factors	13.8	2.4	0.8
Culture	12.7	2.4	0.8
Knowledge	11.9	2.2	0.6
Ideal Self	10.7	3.0	0.7
Sociability	10.5	3.0	0.8
Emigration	9.1	3.2	0.8
Peers' Encouragement	8.3	2.9	0.6
Friendship	7.3	3.1	0.6
Instrumental orientation	6.5	3.1	0.7

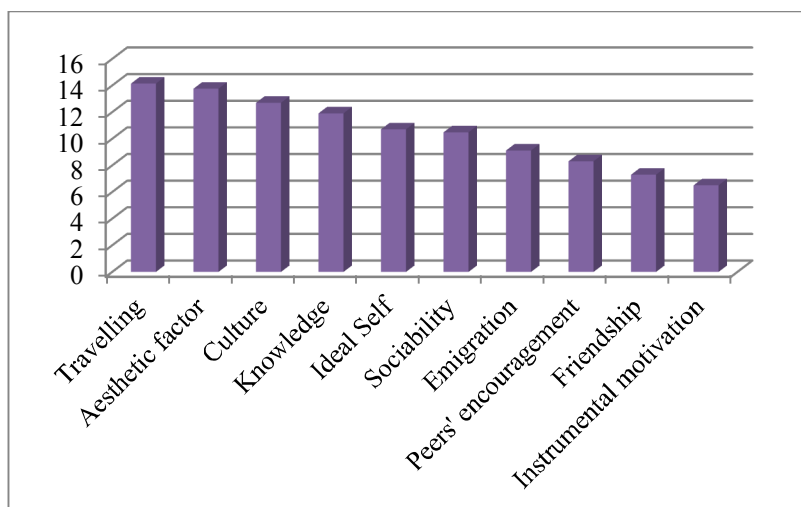


Figure 22: Mean scores of different motivational orientations for Alliance Française students (Russia)

All values are deemed to meet the acceptable level of questionnaire reliability. Figure 22 and Table 19 show that there are significant differences between all dimensions with the exception of (i) Travelling and Aesthetic orientations; (ii) Ideal Self and Sociability factors; and (iii) Emigration and Peers' Encouragement, where the scores happen to be statistically indistinguishable.

Let me now take a closer look at the motivational orientations of Alliance Française students from St. Petersburg (Russia). The 1-2 place in the ranking is shared by Travelling and Aesthetic Factorss (14.1/13.8 out of 16). Travelling to France has become much more feasible for Russian people than it used to be before. While an exceedingly rare opportunity during the Soviet time and affordable only to well-off citizens in the 1990-ies, nowadays visiting France is common for Russia's emerging middle class. Its geographical location (three hour flight from St. Petersburg) makes airplane tickets relatively inexpensive. When visiting France, residents of St. Petersburg usually take advantage of Finnish visas that are easy to obtain and allow the holder to travel across the entire Schengen zone (i.e. nearly everywhere in Western Europe). The travelers are usually aware of the fact that English is not always understood or spoken in France. Moreover, English is oftentimes met with a thinly-disguised disapproval; those tourists who speak French are often treated better.

Table 20: Pairwise comparison of means for overall motivational orientations (Alliance Française de St. Pétersbourg)

	TR	AE	CUL	KN	IS	SOC	EM	PE	FR	IN
TR	14.1	.28	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
AE		13.8	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
CUL			12.7	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
KN				11.9	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
IS					10.7	1.00	0.00	.00	.00	.00
SOC						10.5	.00	.00	.00	.00
EM							9.1	.08	.00	.00
PE								8.3	.00	.00
FR									7.3	.02
IN										6.5

The entries on the diagonal are mean scores for different orientations, color-coded blue. The entries off the diagonal are *p*-values characterizing the pairwise difference between the means; those entries that are greater than 0.05 are color-coded pink, indicating that the difference is statistically insignificant.

Culture orientation takes the third place in the ranking with the score of 12.7 out of 16. This result is expectable because the influence of French culture is on display everywhere in St. Petersburg. While in school, children learn the names of French architects who built many of the city's palaces. The schools traditionally arrange excursions to the Hermitage, where children are introduced to French paintings. French writers are studied in literature classes beginning from fourth grade and French plays are always a part of repertoire in St. Petersburg theatres. References to all things French also permeate mass culture, such as sitcoms, cultivating the attractive stereotype of French as elegant, witty, and flamboyant people. All of this is inevitably reflected in the motivation of Alliance Française students. Some participants in our survey elaborated on their culture-related interest in their comments: "I want to read the original French literature" / "I study French because it should help me to learn more about French cuisine" / "France is the cradle of culture, I want to know more about it".

Culture is followed in the ranking by Knowledge (score 11.9 out of 16). Since early XIX century when all Russian aristocrats spoke French (in fact, many of them could not properly speak Russian) this language is perceived as an essential element of classical education. French lessons, as well as piano lessons, are considered in Russia to be a desirable component of a learning process that makes an all-rounded educated person.

The respondents added the following comments about studying French: “It helps to keep my outlook up to date and broaden it”, “I want to be a polyglot and French is a good basis for studying other languages” (appeared twice).

The 5th and 6th positions in the ranking are shared by Ideal Self (10.7) and Sociability (10.5) factors.

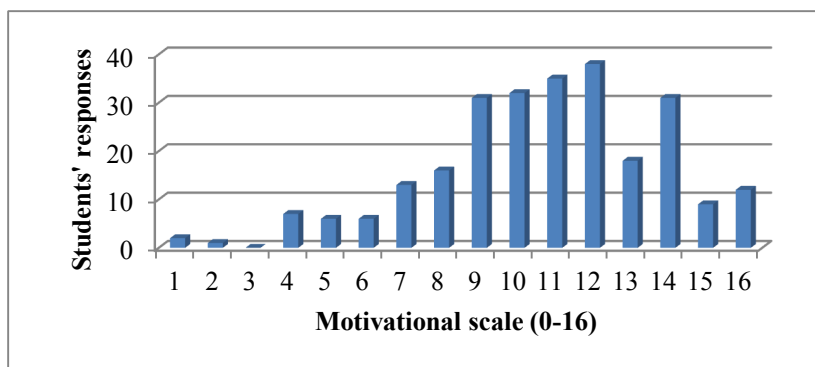


Figure 23: Frequency of responses for Ideal Self orientation

Figure 23 indicates that the majority of Alliance Française’ students (N=143) assigned a positive score (from 11 to 16) to the Ideal Self orientation. Thus, the large portion of respondents (55%) confirmed that studying French is good for their self-respect, gives them a feeling of self-satisfaction and even makes their life more meaningful. There seems to be a consensus in this regard – only few students do not acknowledge the relevance of the Ideal Self factor.

High Sociability score (10.5) is the evidence that classroom ambience is an important additional motivational factor. The educational center such as Alliance Française’ evolves into the special-interests club where students meet with like-minded individuals sharing their enthusiasm for the French language and culture.

Emigration and Peers’ Encouragement orientations received scores 9.1 and 8.3, respectively. In the case of Emigration, 45% of responses produced a positive score (from 10 to 16). This number can be considered relatively high, perhaps reflecting the worsening state of Russian economy and the deteriorating political situation.

As for the Peers’ Encouragement factor, the most frequent scores were 8 or 9, which essentially means “I do not know” (e.g. 2+2+2+2 / 2+2+2+3 combination of the scores). Such score suggests that the desire to learn French in adult learners usually does not depend on what their friends think about it. This is understandable – beginning from

early adulthood we usually do not require an outside validation to pursue our hobbies; by that age we are usually surrounded by like-minded friends, which means that such endorsement becomes nearly automatic.

The lowest scores of all were received by Friendship and Instrumental orientations, with mean values of 7.3 and 6.5, respectively. Both findings are rather surprising. With regard to friendship and especially romantic relationship, one should note that in the aftermath of *perestroika* a marriage to a foreigner became a common and often desirable event among Russian women. To some degree this sentiment has persisted to this day. According to the statistics reported by the head of Moscow civic registry office, one out of seven women who were married in Moscow in 2012 tied the knot with a foreigner (Муравьева, 2013). Most frequently marital alliances involved German, Israeli, American, Italian, and French men. However, the results of this study suggest that few of female learners of French are actually inspired by a possibility to marry a French or Canadian national. Perhaps, those international marriages just happen spontaneously, and there is no element of conscious expectation or rational design in this sense.

A more refined picture can be obtained by per-item analysis of the Friendship orientation:

- | | |
|---|-------|
| 1) I study French because I would like to make friends with French-speaking persons | 2.9/4 |
| 2) I am learning French because I have French-speaking friends. | 2.2/4 |
| 3) I want to learn French because I would like to have a girlfriend/boyfriend from a French-speaking country. | 1.4/4 |
| 4) I am studying French because I have a girlfriend/boyfriend (wife/husband) from a French-speaking country. | 0.8/4 |

As one can see, some of Alliance Française students have French-speaking friends and the respondents are very open to the idea of making new friends. As it appears, 11% of them do have a French-speaking partner – which is, in fact, a significant proportion. However the rest are lukewarm about the idea of hooking up with a French-speaking person.

Here we note that the results from the fourth question tend to lower the overall Friendship score (clearly, only a minor fraction of students can have French-speaking partners). However, even if this question is excluded from the total, the recalculated effective Friendship score remains fairly low, 8.7 out of 16.

Likewise, the last-place finish of the Instrumental orientation is unexpected. As shown above, the student body in Alliance Française is comprised mainly of young and career-oriented people. In a major urban center such as St. Petersburg (population 5 mln.) one may expect to find a number of career or business opportunities where knowledge of French can be beneficial. Nevertheless the majority of participants do not see any practical advantages in speaking French. This appears to be another testament to the global dominance of English. One may also infer that St. Petersburg still remains insufficiently integrated into the European and global marketplace and therefore its citizens see less use for French.

The learners' comments indicate that no questionnaire can possibly cover all practical reasons that people may have to study French. For instance, one participant volunteered the following comment: "My kids go to the French school and I decided also to study French to be able to help them". The other one indicated: "I study French because I want to be able to express my opinion in the country which does not know Russia and has a wrong idea about the history of Franco-Russian relations".

Finally, there are several comments pointing toward the additional source of motivation which have not been included in this questionnaire. For example, one of the participants wrote: "I cannot part with my teacher who is an excellent pedagogue²⁶". Two other students pointed out that learning French provides excellent memory training. This rationale has to do with mental well-being, and perhaps deserves a special mention as a potential source of motivation that has not been discussed before.

There are also a number of emotional comments, such as "French is a labor of love" or "French gives the pleasant taste to my life". While it is difficult to precisely

²⁶ I deliberately did not include this dimension in my survey because it is clear that good teachers and interesting lessons provide a powerful source of motivation.

classify such comments, it is clear that they emphasize the emotional, aesthetic aspect of learning French.

4.5.2. Gender differences

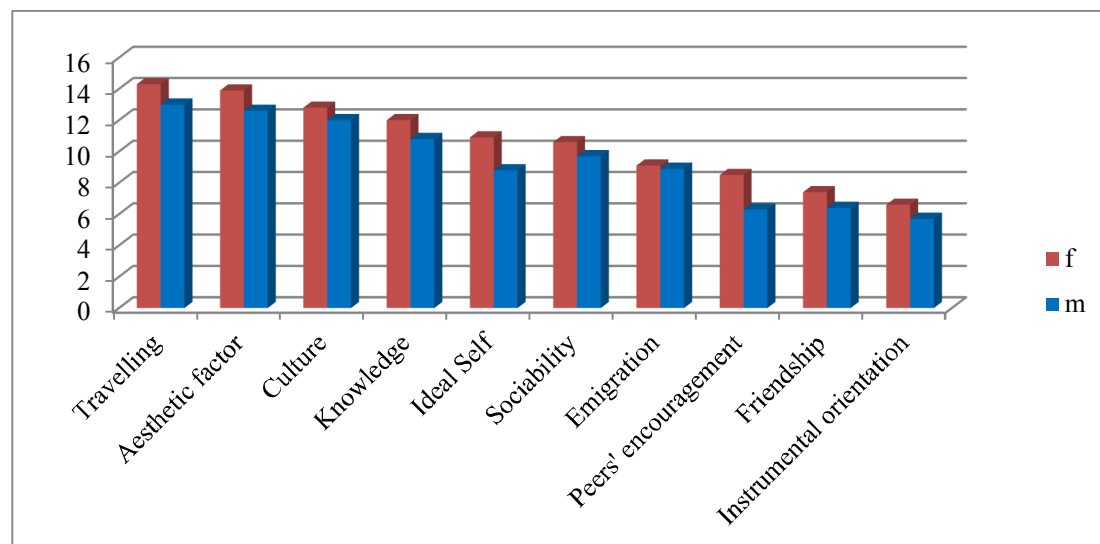


Figure 24: Gender differences in motivational orientations among Alliance Française (St. Petersburg) students

Among the survey participants there were 232 women and 24 men. Thus, men comprise only 8% of all French learners in Alliance Française (St. Petersburg).

Table 21: Mean scores according to the gender of respondents (Alliance Française de St. Pétersbourg)

Motivational orientation	Female (out of 16)	Male (out of 16)	Significance of the gender difference
Travelling	14.3	13.0	0.03
Aesthetic Factors	13.9	12.6	0.06
Culture	12.8	12.0	0.17
Knowledge	12.0	10.8	0.02
Ideal Self	10.9	8.8	0.00
Sociability	10.6	9.7	0.28
Emigration	9.1	8.9	0.76
Peers' Encouragement	8.5	6.3	0.00
Friendship	7.4	6.4	0.09
Instrumental orientation	6.6	5.7	0.12

The entries where there is a statistically significant difference between the female and male scores ($p < 0.05$) are highlighted.

Although Figure 24 shows that women outscore men in all motivational orientations, the *t*-test finds statistically significant gender differences in four dimensions: Travelling, Knowledge, Ideal Self, and Peers' Encouragement. The results in the latter three categories suggest that women tend to have a more "spiritual" view of the language-learning process. On the other hand, there are no statistically significant differences along more earthly and materialistic dimensions such as Emigration and Sociability.

4.5.3. Intercorrelation of motivational orientations

We have characterized the intercorrelations between the different motivational orientations via Pearson coefficients. The results are summarized in Table 22. Similar to what has been described above, there is a core cluster involving Ideal Self, Knowledge, and Aesthetic Factors, as well as Travelling. Furthermore, there are three additional orientations that tie in with this cluster – Culture, Sociability, and Peers' Encouragement. Clearly, all these factors correspond to high-minded or even idealistic perception of the language learning process. In particular, the Ideal Self dimension correlates strongly with nearly everything else in this group. At the opposite end of the spectrum, Friendship, Emigration, and Instrumental orientation form a materialistic cluster. There is very little correlation between the two clusters, except through Ideal Self which shows a modest level of correlation with all materialistic dimensions. One should also bear in mind that idealistic cluster is by far the most important of the two, see table 22.

Table 22: Intercorrelations between motivational orientations (Alliance Française de St. Pétersbourg)

	IS	KN	TR	AE	CUL	SOC	PE	FR	EM	IN
IS		.58	.41	.43	.29	.40	.54	.32	.26	.21
KN			.47	.38	.34	.26	.32	.14	.14	.19
TR				.45	.39	.27	.27	.14	.24	.14
AE					.49	.32	.31	.16	.14	.00
CUL						.35	.18	.16	.14	.06
SOC							.34	.13	.00	.06
PE								.31	.09	.19
FR									.43	.32
EM										.34
IN										

The values of Pearson correlation coefficient greater than 0.4 are color-coded blue, the values between 0.2 and 0.4 are color-coded yellow, and the values less than 0.2 are color-coded white.

4.5.4. Age and motivational orientations

Statistical analysis revealed four significant correlations of motivational orientations with students' age. The results are presented in table 23.

Table 23: Correlations between students' age and motivational orientations (Alliance Française de St. Pétersbourg)

Motivational orientation	Pearson correlation with age	Significance
Instrumental orientation	-.46	.00
Emigration	-.24	.00
Travelling	-.23	.00
Culture	.17	.01

The results suggest that three motivational factors decrease with age: Instrumental orientation, Emigration, and Travelling. This is understandable, as older learners have fewer career options open to them and less hope to benefit from a mastery of French. They have also settled down and are less likely to entertain thoughts about emigration. Finally, they have seen the world already and hence are less enthusiastic about travelling. On the other hand, they seem to better appreciate the cultural aspect of the French

language. The overall level of motivation, as determined in this survey, appears to decline with age ($r = -0.16$; $p = .00$). The effect can be attributed to decreases in materialistic motivation. If Instrumental Orientation and Emigration dimensions are excluded from the comparison, then the negative correlation all but disappears and the overall level of motivation appears to be independent of age ($r = -0.02$; $p = .77$).

4.5.5. Time of studying French and motivational orientations

Only one significant correlation between Time of studying French and motivational orientations has been found for students at Alliance Française de St. Petersburg (see Table 24).

Table 24: Correlations between Time of studying French and motivational orientations (Alliance Française de St. Pétersbourg)

Motivational orientation	Pearson correlation	Significance
Sociability	.079	.208
Culture	.069	.276
Knowledge	-.011	.867
Aesthetic Factors	.085	.177
Ideal Self	.028	.657
Travelling	.032	.611
Friendship	-.053	.396
Emigration	-.140	.025
Instrumental orientation	.000	.996
Peers' Encouragement	.042	.505

The statistically significant correlation ($p < 0.05$) is highlighted.

Only Emigration orientation shows slight negative correlation with the time of studying French language. Other than that, all motivational scores remain stable throughout the years of studies at Alliance Française. The decline of the Emigration orientation may be related to the age factor. As can be seen from Figure 25, those who study the language for 13 years or more assign relatively modest score to the Emigration factor (10 or less). It would be safe to assume that these are largely older students. Indeed, there is a weak but statistically significant correlation between Time of studying French and age ($r = .125$; $p = .046$). Older learners are usually less mobile and less

inclined to consider emigration as one of their life options than their younger counterparts.

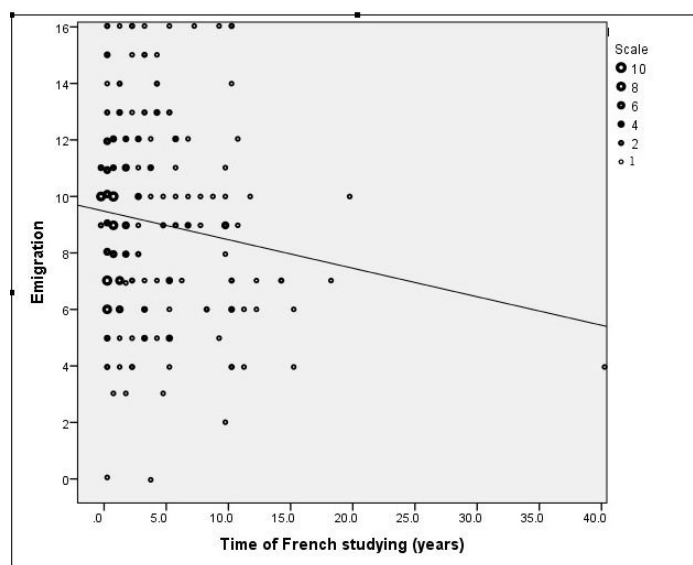


Figure 25: Correlation of Emigration orientation with Time of Studying French

4.5.6. Summary of the results

Let me summarize the most interesting findings about Alliance Française (St. Petersburg, Russia) students' motivation to learn French: (1) the highest scores have been given to Travelling, Aesthetic, Culture and Knowledge orientations; (2) Instrumental orientation is at the bottom of motivational ranking (6.5 out 16); (3) Ideal Self orientation strongly correlates with Aesthetic Factors, Travelling, Knowledge, Peers' Encouragement, and Sociability factors; (4) female students hold an edge over male students in four motivational orientations (Travelling, Knowledge, Ideal Self, and Peers' Encouragement); (5) three of the ten motivational orientations demonstrate negative correlation with age (Instrumental, Emigration, and Travelling), leading to a slight decline in overall motivation among older learners. This trend is partially offset by a weak, but statistically significant correlation between age and Culture orientation.

4.6. American college students vs. Russian college students

4.6.1. Motivational ranking

It is remarkable that, despite the differences in cultural background and curricula, both American and Russian college students produced almost identical rankings of motivational orientations toward studying French (see Figure 26). In both cases the ranking is topped by the Travelling orientation followed by Aesthetic, Culture, and Knowledge constructs. The only difference in the entire ranking is this: the Sociability and Ideal Self orientations are ranked as 5th and 6th most important factors by American students, while Russian students rank them 6th and 5th, respectively.

Moreover, in the case of American students the two respective scores are statistically indistinguishable. Aside from this minor difference, the two rankings are identical – including the bottom part, which is occupied by more tangible factors: Instrumental, Emigration, Peers' Encouragement, and Friendship. The close similarity between the two rankings is rather striking. It suggests that the world may have indeed turned into a 'global village', where young people in different parts of the planet feel and think the same.

The itemized comparison is illustrated in Figure 26. As can be seen from the plot, Russian students are generally more motivated than American students. The significant differences are found for Peers' Encouragement, Culture, Emigration and Aesthetic Factorss. Conversely, American students score significantly higher in the rubric of Sociability (see Table 25). The difference in overall motivation turns out to be 95.2 / 160 (USA) versus 100.6 / 160 (Russia) ($p = .00$). In what follows, the individual orientations are discussed in a broad sociocultural context.

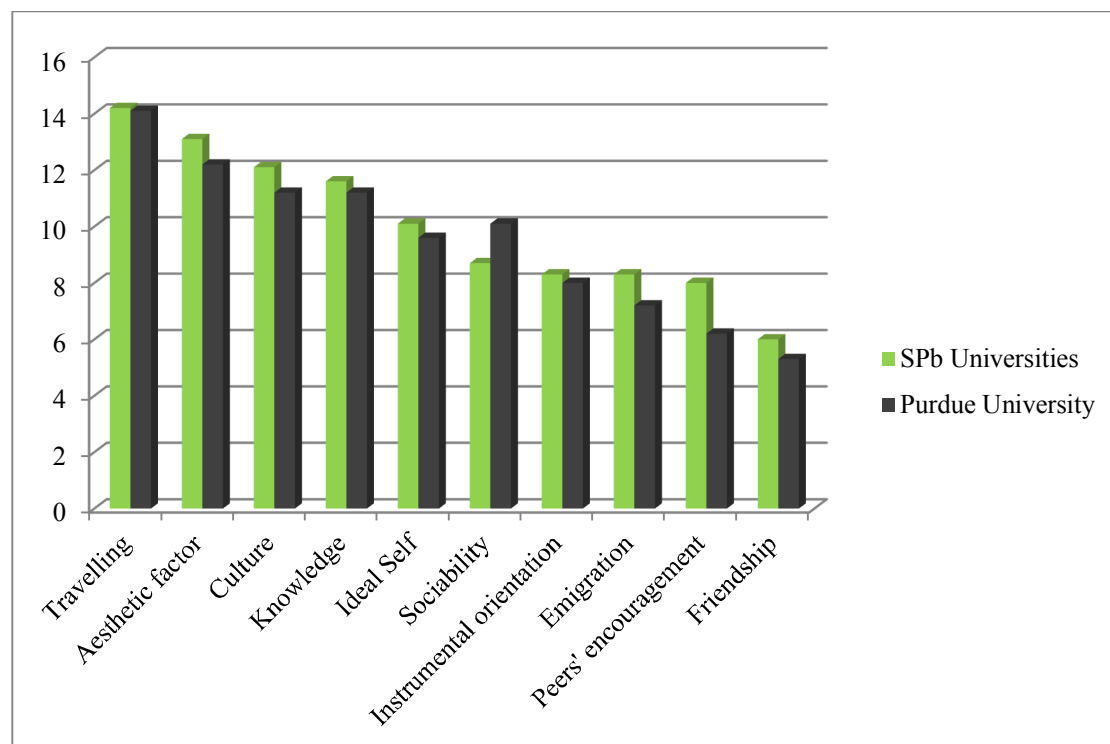


Figure 26: The comparison of the mean motivational scores of Purdue students vs. St. Petersburg public universities' students

Travelling. The scores given to this orientation by the US and Russian respondents happen to be identical. This motivational driver was previously identified in the studies of Alalou (2001) and Thomas (2010) as one of the most important sources of inspiration for American learners of French. The qualitative data collected in the current study confirm this finding: college students frequently mention travels in their interviews. However, it rarely appears to be the main reason to study French. Rather, it is usually combined with other motivational reasons. For example, one Russian student offered the following comment: 'I have been studying French for tourism, in case if I go travelling...', and then added: 'I enjoy it; I always liked it'. Thus, it is difficult to deduce what comes first for this woman: her love of French *per se* or her desire to travel to France.

Table 25: The comparison of overall mean scores for Purdue students (USA) and students from St. Petersburg public universities (Russia) on each motivational orientation.

Motivational orientation	Mean (out of 16) for American students (Purdue)	Mean (out of 16) for Russian students (St. Petersburg State universities)	Significance
Travelling	14.1	14.2	.68
Aesthetic Factors	12.2	13.1	.02
Culture	11.2	12.1	.01
Knowledge	11.2	11.6	.09
Sociability	10.1	8.7	.00
Ideal Self	9.6	10.1	.13
Instrumental orientation	8.0	8.3	.37
Emigration	7.2	8.3	.01
Peers' Encouragement	6.2	8.0	.00
Friendship	5.3	6.0	.06

Those correlations that are statistically significant are highlighted.

Such a mix of different motivational orientations is often encountered in the interviews. For example, this is how one American student described the origin of her interest in French language: ‘There is something about the culture behind French that makes it really interesting... probably because France is so diverse... And it is so different from American culture! I was always interested in travelling... And it is great when language can bring you to another place...’. Here we can see how Culture and Travelling orientations are deeply intertwined. The statistical analyses confirm that these two orientations (i.e. Culture and Travelling) are strongly correlated for both Purdue students and St. Petersburg universities’ students ($r = 0.42$ and 0.51 , respectively).

Aesthetic Factors. The important role of the Aesthetic Factors is confirmed both by its second place in the motivational ranking and by the qualitative data. ‘It sounds so romantic!’, ‘I love how it sounds’ – these exclamations show that both American and Russian students find the phonetic side of French language very attractive. This stands in stark contrast to students’ apparent perception of German. According to Busse & Williams (2010): ‘... surprisingly, there was not a single report of enjoyment of the

language per se, i.e., to the enjoyment of specific qualities such as sounds, melody, or the rhythm of the language itself.’

The higher score given by Russian students to the Aesthetic Factors can be attributed to the influence of French music. It may have originated in the days of the Soviet Union when France was one of the few relatively friendly foreign countries whose music was officially approved and broadcast. The generations of 1960s, 1970s and 1980s often owned the vinyl records of Édith Piaf, Mireille Mathie, and Joe Dassin, followed by the tapes of Mylène Farmer, Patricia Kaas, Ingrid, Lara Fabian, Stromae and other performers. Their singles still remain popular and are included in play lists of many radio stations. French singers often tour Russia and give concerts in St. Petersburg to packed and enthusiastic audiences. In contrast, popular radio stations and TV channels in the US do not provide quite as much exposure to French music. This is probably one of the reasons why Russian students gave the Aesthetic Factors a higher score than their American counterparts.

Culture. Both American and Russian learners of French gave a high score to Culture orientation. This result contradicts that of Alalou (2001), who found that students’ interest in the French language is not associated with culture. In the current study culture-related motives are mentioned by virtually all interviewees. For example, one Purdue student emphasized: “I like learning about culture – little things like PACS, etc.”²⁷ Another student muses: “I fell in love with French history and culture... it has been developed several thousand years more than American culture; there is so much romantic in it.” However, it is rare that Purdue students mention the connection between American and French culture and history. Only one respondent pointed out that “many American people do not realize that we might not get the independence from Great Britain without help of French people.”

In contrast, Russian students often make references to history: “French is a language of Russian nobles, later the language of Russian intelligentsia”. College students in St. Petersburg are aware of the French presence in Russian history and

²⁷ PACS is the acronym for Pacte civil de solidarité

probably because of this they give higher scores to the Culture orientation. The history of St. Petersburg is so deeply imbued with French culture that many books could be (and actually have been) written about it.²⁸

The first influx of French influence is associated with the name of Peter the Great, who brought European traditions to the country. The architectural grandeur of St. Petersburg would not have existed without Le Blond, Vallin de La Mothe, Monferrand, Falconet and other expatriate architects. French culture was adopted on an unprecedented scale during the reign of Catherine the Great (1762-1796): “There was no nation in Europe that has Frenchified itself as rapidly as Russia with regards to both language and customs²⁹” (Diderot, 1966). The ideas of French Enlightenment took hold in St. Petersburg and Moscow. Many Frenchmen who escaped to Russia following the French revolution in 1789 became teachers and tutors for Russian nobility and wealthy citizenry. In the early XIX century Russian aristocrats typically spoke French more fluently than their native language. The majority of journals were published in French, the upper class penned their letters and diaries in French, and only French was spoken in high-society salons and balls.

Since that day, French has maintained a distinct presence in St. Petersburg. It can be found in the works of literature, radio broadcasts, fashion stores, beauty parlors, bakeries, restaurants, etc. Although English has clearly displaced French as *lingua franca* and a number of schools offering French courses have dramatically declined, the cultural connotations remain a powerful source of motivation for Russian learners of French.

Knowledge. Despite its relatively high standing in the motivational ranking, the Knowledge orientation as described in the questionnaire (e.g. “I study French because I want to be a well-educated person”) is rarely brought up in the interviews. Only one Purdue student mentioned that French will make her a “more rounded” person. However, the Knowledge orientation is certainly reflected in respondents’ answers in a somewhat

²⁸ See, for example, Offord, D., Ryazanova-Clarke, L., Rjéoutski, V., & Argent, G. (Eds.). (2015). *French and Russian in Imperial Russia: Language Attitudes and Identity*. (D. Offord, L. Ryazanova-Clarke, V. Rjéoutski, & G. Argent, Eds.). Edinburgh University Press.

²⁹ Denis Diderot, *Mémoires pour Catherine II*, ed. P. Vernière (Paris, 1966), 44.

indirect way. Both American and Russian college students emphasize their “love for languages”, the desire to be bilingual, the desirability of knowing more than one language. “I think that it is really important now, when the world is more and more globalized, to speak more than one language” – says an American student. “Young people want to study languages nowadays in Russia” – observes a Russian student. As it seems, students in both countries recognize the innate value of knowledge, which can be potentially useful at many different levels.

Sociability. As can be seen from Table 25, American college students significantly outscore their Russian counterparts in the Sociability metric. The first explanation that comes to mind is that Americans are simply more sociable than Russians. On a certain level this may be true: Russians hardly ever smile to strangers and would never say “I like your hat” to someone with whom they have not been acquainted. This runs against cultural tradition and is likely to be considered intrusive.

However, there is also another dimension to this problem. In the current study, the Sociability orientation reflects classroom interactions that are supposed to be pleasant and stimulating. In this connection one should bear in mind the differences in curricula and teaching methodology. While American students widely practice conversation in class, striking up dialogue and discussing a variety of everyday topics, Russian students mostly study scientific French, thus preparing for their professional careers. Often, Russian students spend time in class translating academic articles, practicing formal writing, or learning specialized speech patterns. As a result, Russian students are less likely to enjoy verbal exchanges with their classmates during French lessons.

Ideal Self. Both American and Russian college students gave a moderate but positive score to the Ideal Self factor (see Table 25). Therefore Ideal Self orientation has been acknowledged and confirmed by both groups of participants. This finding is particularly important since the concept of Ideal Self has never been previously tested either in US or in Russia; furthermore, this construct has never been applied to French language acquisition. Thus, our results expand the range of validity of this concept and demonstrate its universal nature which transcends the national and L2 differences.

Instrumental orientation. Both American and Russian students assigned relatively low scores to the Instrumental orientation. This is in contrast to the previous results

published by Alalou (2001), Thomas (2010), and Oakes (2013). Our data call into question the pragmatic nature of students' interest toward French language. To obtain a more detailed picture, I have conducted the statistical analysis of the individual items within this orientation.

	Purdue	Public universities in St. Petersburg	Sig.
I study French because it can help me to find a good job.	1.9	2.4	.00
Increasing my French proficiency will have financial benefits for me.	1.9	2.1	.02
I study French because of language requirements in my degree program.	2.7	2.0	.00
The main reason why I need to learn French is to pass an examination.	1.5	1.8	.08

The first and the second questions suggest that speaking French in Russia offers more material than in the US. Indeed, the share of business that US conducts with France is small compared to the enormous internal market, whereas in Russia there are fewer opportunities inside the country and language skills that can be used to connect to the international market are more valuable. The third question indicates that a higher percentage of US students take French as a prerequisite for their college degrees. As already discussed in Section 4.4.1, Russian students are often ambivalent on this point (while studying a foreign language is required, it does not need to be French). Finally, the fourth question suggests that both US and Russian students tend to reject the idea that they mainly study the language to pass an examination. As discussed above, they prefer more high-minded view of their French-language education.

Emigration. Predictably, Russian college students assigned higher score to the Emigration factor. Following the years of relatively fast growth and prosperity, Russia is again in dire straits, both politically and economically. According to the official statistics (Russian Federal State Statistics Service, Rosstat), 203.6 thousand Russians left the country during the time period from January to August 2014. This figure is higher than

the total amount of emigrants for 2013 (186.4 thousand) and close to the historical maximum that was registered in 1999.³⁰ The numbers should be considerably higher considering ‘hidden’ emigration, i.e. those people who travel abroad on a temporary visa, but then choose to stay. The estimated number of Russians living in France, from 200,000 to 500,000 as of 2014,³¹ is several times higher than the number of Americans, approx. 100,000 as of 2010.³² If anything, it is surprising that our data do not show a more significant gap between Russian and American students with respect to the Emigration orientation.

Peers’ Encouragement. Russian respondents reported higher degree of peer support for their language studies. This result reflects the difference in perception of French between Russian and American society. To rationalize this difference, let us turn to the qualitative data. The semi-structured interviews included two questions: “How do your friends and family feel about your studying French?” and “What do you think about the perception of French language and France by American (Russian) society?” The answers given by Russian students invariably convey a positive attitude: “The fact that I study French makes my friends respect me”; “The fact that you learn French makes people stop and think: ‘wow, this is something!’”. On the other hand, American students give more mixed answers: “They (i.e. friends) feel that is very cool”; “They say: why don’t you take Spanish?! It is more practical”. Some Purdue students also mention that attitude toward France and France is not universally favorable in the USA: “There are people who desire to be more connected to French culture, who really admire and want to be part of it. And there are people... French society is very different from us. If you like the way the American society is, you may not agree with a lot of things in France”; “There is a stereotype about French people in the USA that they are rude and snobby”. This difference in perception probably affects the “degree of coolness” of French language among college students and translates into different levels of Peers’ Encouragement.

³⁰ The figures are taken from ‘Institute of Modern Russia’ (Semenova, 2015).

³¹ The data retrieved from ‘Russie Info’ (Demidoff, 2014).

³² ‘Americans in France’. Embassy of the United States. Paris. United States Department of State. Retrieved April 26, 2015.

Friendship. Friendship orientation sits at the bottom of the motivational ranking in both groups. It is the only one of the four orientations inspired by the work of Clément and Kruidenier (1983) that has not been confirmed by the current study. Both American and Russian students appear to be indifferent to this simple concept. To explain this surprising finding, I turn to Dörnyei's analysis of integrative motivation (both Friendship orientation and Integrative orientation reflect learner's interest in the target language community). Dörnyei pointed out that the absence of the L2 group in the learners' environment leads to the situation when the Gardnerian concept of integrativeness "can be generalized to the cultural and intellectual values associated with the language" (Dörnyei, 2003). In other words, if there are no Francophones around, then students tend to focus on the intellectual and cultural value of the language and do not care about the people who speak this language. Language itself becomes a source of inspiration, providing new experiences through speaking, reading, listening, watching video, discussing the culture, etc.

However, the generally indifferent attitude toward L2 speakers may change with circumstances. For example, some American students stated that terrorist attacks in Paris in November 2015 had changed their perception: "Generally, people have the connection to France through wine, food and fashion. Now because last year we had the attack in Paris, it could change this seeing, now that made it more real: people are sitting in the café, people are attacked... I think Americans feel more connection with life even if this romantic image of Paris has not disappeared."

Other motivational orientations. Clearly the sources of motivation to learn French are not limited to ten broad categories that are represented in the questionnaire. There are also other factors, that are sometimes subtle or unexpected. Some common motivational drivers that have been mentioned by both American and Russian college students are as follows:

1) Desire to continue studying the language that they started in school (the "persistence factor").

Purdue student: "I wanted to continue... I started to study French in high school; it was the first language I fell in love with...";

St. Petersburg University student: “I learned it in school and I wanted to keep it up; I like it and I miss it when I do not hear it for a while...”

2) Uniqueness of French in the situation when other students make a more practical choice (learning Spanish in the USA or English in Russia). Lack of conventional, pragmatic motivation turns out to be a strength, making French language special and distinctive.

Purdue student: “Everyone takes Spanish; I feel that French makes me unique”;

St. Petersburg university student: “My friends mostly speak English and ask me from time to time to say something in French”.

3) Interest in linguistics and, particularly, influence of French on English (or Russian).

Purdue student: “I like etymology; like that I can recognize meaning of French words thanks to English”;

St. Petersburg university student: “My interest in French started at the English department; I realized that many English words have been adapted from French and decided to study this language”.

4) Positive experiences from using French language.

Purdue student: “I went to Haiti with my church. They speak Creole there, but they also study French in school. It was the first time when I was really immersed in language outside of the class. When I went there the second time, I realized that the more I am immersed the more I understand... that I learn much more than during the whole year in the class”;

St. Petersburg university student: “I was in France twice, I tried to speak and I saw that my studies have been fruitful... I enjoyed it”.

4.6.2. Gender differences

Among both American and Russian college students, women rate higher than men in almost all motivational orientations. This outcome is expectable – indeed, there is ample evidence that academic motivation and achievements are strongly correlated with gender. The US National Center for Education Statistics cites the data indicating that girls and women get better grades all the way from elementary school to college, are less

likely to drop out of school and more likely to pursue college education (Snyder & Dillow, 2011). In Great Britain girls consistently outperform boys in the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) examinations and A-level examinations in modern languages according to the Office for National Statistics (1999). Such differences have been a subject of active research over the last 30 years. Among possible causes, the researchers cited social environment and family influences, as well as the difference in communication and behavior styles between girls and boys. A lack of male language teachers in schools has also been noted, as well as the dominance of female-oriented topics in the curriculum, causing French to be seen as a female-dominated subject (Clark & Trafford, 1996; Moys, 1996; Callaghan, 1998; Barton, 1997; Butler, 2014).

Given this well-documented inequality, the results of the current study can be viewed with a guarded optimism. From ten motivational dimensions only four produced statistically significant differences favoring women in the US sample, and only two – in the Russian sample. American women scored higher in Travelling, Aesthetic, Culture and Knowledge orientations, whereas Russian women surpassed men in Knowledge and Ideal Self dimensions. Of interest, gender differences are related mostly to idealistic dimensions, whereas in more materialistic areas (i.e. Emigration or Instrumental orientation) males and females showed a similar degree of enthusiasm. It seems that male participants are less perceptive to the spiritual aspects of language learning than their female counterparts. However, men appear to be more personable: American men outscored women in the Friendship category (5.8 vs. 5.2), whereas Russian men scored higher than women on the Sociability scale (9.4 vs 8.6). Even though these scores fail to attain the level of statistical significance, they point toward a potentially substantive trend. In general, it should be pointed out that gender differences in motivation are far less pronounced at the college level compared to school learning (see Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Kissau, 2006; Ruyffelaert & Hadermann, 2012). By the time teenagers make their way through college, a certain selection process has taken place. Not surprisingly, only more responsible and motivated individuals of both sexes successfully advance to this stage.

4.6.3. Intercorrelations of motivational orientations

The interrelations between different motivational orientations have been characterized via Pearson correlation coefficients for both American and Russian college students. Two motivational clusters have been identified in both samples: the more important of the two can be described as idealistic, while the less important can be described as materialistic. For American students the core idealistic orientations are Ideal Self, Knowledge, Aesthetic Factors and Culture. For Russian students the corresponding core factors are Ideal Self, Knowledge, Aesthetic Factors, and Travelling. There is one difference that meets the eye: the Culture in the American list is replaced with the Travelling in the Russian list. Apparently, Russians tend to see travel to France as a sort of spiritual experience, while Americans are directly focusing on French culture. Overall, however, the data paint a very similar picture, with only subtle differences between the two countries. This is another testament to the power of globalization, especially among younger people.

At the other end of the scale we find the cluster associated with materialistic motives. For both American and Russian college students this cluster is essentially reduced to a single category – that of Instrumental motivation. The instrumental score is uncorrelated to any of the other nine orientations; sometimes it even shows weak negative correlation, particularly for Russian students. Apparently materialistic motivation is independent of idealistic motivation or, to some degree, can even displace it (e.g. those students who see French as a mean to advance their careers do not care as much about the beauty of French language).

4.6.4. Correlations of motivational orientations with Time of Studying French

Motivation is a dynamic factor. It may change substantially even during the course of one semester and, certainly, during the time period of several years. For example, in the study of Busse et al. (2013) the participants reported increase in self-efficacy and desire for language proficiency after the first year of studying German, but at the same time registered significant decline in intrinsic motivation. The researchers explained these results by noting the complexity of German grammar that might have

discouraged students and caused the loss of interest. A similar dip in motivation after the first year of studies has been observed by Gao et al. (2014) who investigated the motivation of Chinese university students to study English. However, toward the graduation the EFL learners developed stronger cultural as well as situational motivation.

In the current study students from Purdue and from public universities in St. Petersburg showed somewhat different results. By looking at the Figure 27, one can see that overall motivation of Purdue students increases with time, whereas overall motivation of Russian college students does not change. However, the starting point is different for the two groups. The average score for Purdue students is approx. 90 compared to ca. 100 for St. Petersburg participants.

How to interpret the observed differences? First, as has been already noted in section 4.4.4, Russian students can only study French in college for a limited period of time, no more than two years. Most of the students in the sample are beginners, while only few have an experience of studying French in secondary school and/or high school. In this sense, the Russian sample is not very well suited to study long-term motivational trends. It is indeed not surprising that the level of motivation does not increase over the time frame of 1-2 years. In fact, the same is true for Purdue students (see the left portion of Figure 27). During this time the students struggle with grammar and vocabulary, while being largely unable to reap the fruit of their labor (their ability to speak, read, or write remains quite limited).

As it seems, both teachers of French at Purdue university and language instructors in St. Petersburg universities do a good job maintaining students' motivation during the first 1-2 years of language studies. The data suggest that there is no initial loss of interest, such as reported by Busse (2013) and Gao (2014). Instead, the level of motivation remains steady. At the same time, Purdue teachers enjoy good success with those students who previously learned French at school and/or spent more than two years studying French in university. The level of motivation in such students is higher and progressively increases with time of studying French. In contrast, there is only a handful of such students at St. Petersburg universities. This does not bode well for the efficiency of French language teaching in St. Petersburg. While at Purdue there is a big group of

enthusiastic students with 4-8 years of experience studying French under their belt, there are very few such individuals in the Russian universities.

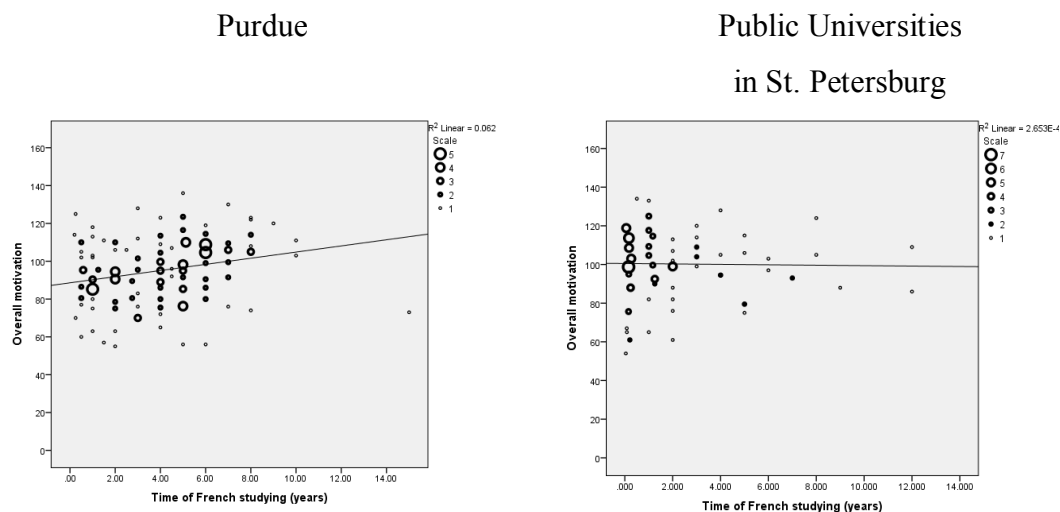


Figure 27: Correlation of overall motivation with time of studying French. Comparison of American and Russian college students

4.7. American college students vs. American private courses students of French

4.7.1. Motivational ranking

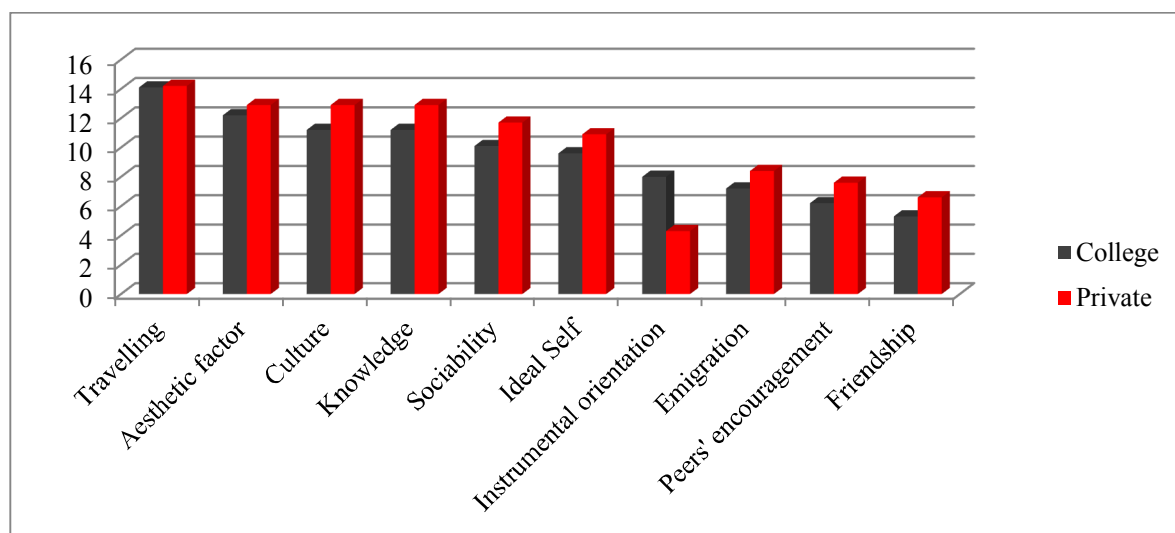


Figure 28: The comparison of the mean scores of Purdue students vs. Alliance Française (USA) students

Despite differences in age, curricula, and location, American college students and private courses learners produced very similar motivational rankings (see Figure 28). The only striking difference involves Instrumental orientation, which scores very low in the Alliance Française students' rating. This result is consistent with findings of Schmidt *et al.* (1996) who observed that expectancy of material benefits is more characteristic of younger FL learners, whereas older students draw motivation mostly from their enjoyment of studying.

The comparative statistical analysis of the mean motivation scores is presented in Table 26. In brief, Purdue students and Alliance Française learners in Cincinnati and Chicago are equally excited about the idea of traveling to France. Both groups appreciate the beauty of French language, although adult learners are more perceptive to it (at the level approaching statistical significance). In other motivational orientations Alliance Française learners hold a clear-cut advantage over their Purdue counterparts. The only exception is the Instrumental orientation, where Alliance Française learners scored extremely low. Overall, the adult learners prove to be significantly more motivated than college students as reflected in the net scores: 95.2 for Purdue students vs. 103.1 for Alliance Française learners ($p = .000$).

Table 26: The comparison of overall mean scores for Purdue students and Alliance Française (USA) learners on each motivational orientation.

Motivational orientation	Mean (out of 16) for American college students	Mean (out of 16) for Alliance Française (USA) students	Sig.
Travelling	14.1	14.2	.45
Aesthetic Factors	12.2	12.9	.07
Culture	11.2	12.9	.00
Knowledge	11.2	12.9	.00
Sociability	10.1	11.9	.00
Ideal Self	9.6	10.9	.00
Instrumental orientation	8.0	4.3	.00
Emigration	7.2	8.4	.01
Peers' Encouragement	6.2	7.6	.00
Friendship	5.3	6.6	.00

Those correlations that are statistically significant are highlighted.

It would be instructive to compare these findings with results from other studies. However, it appears that no research has ever been conducted in the USA to compare L2 college learners with the students from private courses. At the same time there are several US studies comparing on-campus students with distance learners. The majority of distance learners are post-college learners. In the study by Rovai et al. (2007) the average age of distance learners enrolled in twelve different e-learning courses in Virginia was found to be 25 years old. Distance learners are likely to have a family, significant job responsibilities and higher income. It would be perhaps reasonable to suggest that in terms of social status and attitudes the e-learners are somewhere in between of college youth and typically more senior Alliance Française clientele.

In their study of general academic motivation, Rovai *et al* (2007) found that on-line students showed stronger intrinsic motivation than on-campus students. Distance learners scored higher in intrinsic motivation 1) to know; 2) to accomplish things; and 3) to experience stimulation.³³ On the other hand, no difference was found in extrinsic motivation or amotivation. It is rather unlikely that on-line courses are more interesting than traditional courses. Perhaps the key is the attitude of the e-learners, who are more goal-oriented and determined to attain their educational objectives. The authors of the study point out that on-line courses are usually chosen by people who are technology-inclined and therefore (having a chance to study using new devices) experience greater pleasure from the process of learning. To this I would add that distance learners also experience more autonomy than those who study on-campus, which can further boost their motivation. The same is true for private language courses students: their decision to study language is a matter of free choice and is not dictated by program requirements. This is an essential fact, which must be reflected in their level of motivation.

Another factor which contributes to the high level of motivation among Alliance Française learners is their educational background. In the current sample, the majority of

³³ “Intrinsic motivation to experience stimulation occurs when one engages in an activity in order to experience pleasant sensations associated mainly with one’s senses, for example, sensory and aesthetic pleasure” (Rovai et al. (2007)).

participants were doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers, etc. According to Feasley, who conducted an early meta-study of distance learning: “In general, the more prior education people have, the more likely they are to seek additional opportunities for learning regardless of the ways those opportunities are delivered” (Feasley, 1983, p. 14).

While the parallel between distance learning and private courses is an interesting one, it obviously has significant limitations. As pointed out already in the early work of Feasley (1983), distance learning is typically associated with specific job/career goals, while intellectual curiosity is another contributing factor. In contrast, Alliance Française learners display a very low level of instrumental motivation (mean score 4.3 out of 16). In this connection one should bear in mind that French is not considered to be a ‘useful’ language in America, which is reflected in its low instrumental score. Overall, the current study provides a unique insight into the important group of adult learners, such as Alliance Française students, who study language mainly for pleasure and tend to have an idealistic view of this pursuit.

4.7.2. Gender differences

Among Purdue students of French, women are significantly more motivated than men. The only category where men have an edge is Friendship; they also come close in the Sociability category. As discussed above this is probably explained by the psychology of young males and has to do, consciously or subconsciously, with a search for partners. In all other rubrics women consistently outscore men by a modest but appreciable margin. Interestingly, the women’s higher score in the Instrumental dimension is due to their greater concern about the exams. As for career expectations, the scores are virtually identical.

The data from the Alliance Française paint a rather different picture. As it turns out, men are nearly as motivated as women in this group, with combined mean score 100.6 vs. 102.9 ($p = .56$). Of note, men outscore women in the Instrumental, Emigration, and Friendship categories. These three orientations are strongly intercorrelated in the Alliance Française sample, forming a materialistic cluster (see next section). Furthermore, men score slightly higher than women in the Peer Encouragement rubric and match women in their enthusiasm for Travelling.

Generally, woman's edge in motivation is dramatic in elementary school, but it levels off toward adulthood. It is moderate in college, and at best marginal among highly motivated, accomplished adults such as Alliance Française learners. While the general rule is that females are more motivated than males, two areas stand out. The first one is related to the more outgoing nature of males. This is observed at the college level, but apparently also persists in adulthood. Evidence of this is seen among the Alliance Française learners, many of whom are retired. Interestingly, a number of studies suggest that men tend to overrate their own friendliness (Moskowitz, 1996). The second area involves materialistic motivation and, more specifically, instrumental motivation. While in college men and women are equally alert to potential benefits of French for their future careers, later in life men appear to be much more receptive to this aspect of language learning. Generally, middle-age and senior males attending the courses at Alliance Française appear to be more proactive: they see potential career benefits of learning French, they ponder immigration to France, and they are interested in striking a friendship with a French man or forming a relationship with a French woman. By comparison, female learners at the Alliance Française seem to be less proactive; their motivation is predominantly of internal and spiritual nature. Note, however, that more data are needed to obtain a definitive picture (there are relatively few males among Alliance Française learners so that it would be desirable to expand the sample).

4.7.3. Intercorrelations of motivational orientations

As described above, two motivational clusters emerge from the data analyses: idealistic and materialistic. The orientations within each cluster are strongly intercorrelated with correlation coefficients r typically greater than 0.4. For Purdue students, the idealistic cluster involves four core orientations: Ideal Self, Knowledge, Aesthetic Factors, and Culture. There are also additional dimensions that show partial strong correlations with idealistic cluster (for example, Peer Encouragement strongly correlates with Ideal Self, as well as Knowledge). In the case of Alliance Française learners, the core of the cluster is comprised of Aesthetic Factors, Culture, Knowledge, and Travelling. There are also examples of partial correlations (e.g. Sociability correlates with both Aesthetic Factors and Travelling).

Clearly, overall the picture is similar. Indeed it is not surprising that interest in French culture goes hand-in-hand with appreciation of the beauty of the French language. Perhaps the differences are more telling. Among Alliance Française learners the Travelling is tightly correlated with other idealistic dimensions. It appears that for adult learners travel to France is more strongly associated with aesthetic pleasure and intellectual pursuit, while college students may see it somewhat differently, e.g. as a wild adventure.

On the other hand, among Purdue students the Ideal Self proves to be an integral part of the idealistic cluster. This means that young Midwesterners desire to see themselves as cultured, enlightened, and sophisticated persons. This trend is apparently less pronounced among Alliance Française learners. While these individuals clearly recognize that learning French improves their self-image, they do not necessarily associate this self-image with cultural sophistication. Their desired self-image is probably less fancy.

At the other end of the motivational scale lies the materialistic cluster. For Purdue students the cluster essentially is limited to a single dimension, that of Instrumental orientation. For Alliance Française learners it consists of the three highly intercorrelated metrics: Instrumental, Emigration, and Friendship orientations. The explanation seems to be rather straightforward. For college students their career prospects, immigration, or potential relationship with a French-speaking person are all abstract concepts with no obvious connection to each other. Hence these three rubrics are not correlated to each other.³⁴ On the other hand, for older Alliance Française members this connection often becomes more apparent. For instance, there may be an American man married to a French woman who is mulling the prospect of moving to France and therefore is concerned about finding a job with a French company. For such a person the instrumental factors (i.e. possible need to communicate in French at work) are intertwined with the issue of his existing personal relationship with a French person and the question of emigration.

³⁴ Some of them correlate with idealistic motives, e.g. interest in emigration correlates with interest in French culture.

4.7.4. Correlations of motivational orientations with Time of Studying French

The correlations between overall language-learning motivation and time of studying French are shown in Figure 29 for Purdue students as well as Alliance Française learners (left and right half of the figure, respectively). At Purdue the beginners with no prior experience of learning French are not particularly motivated, with the typical score of ca. 90. For two years the motivation remains approximately at the same level. However, after three years of studying French (school and university education combined) the motivation starts to increase, reaching ca. 100 for the students with 6+ years of learning experience. There is clearly a correlation between motivation and times of studies, $r = .25$, $p = .001$.

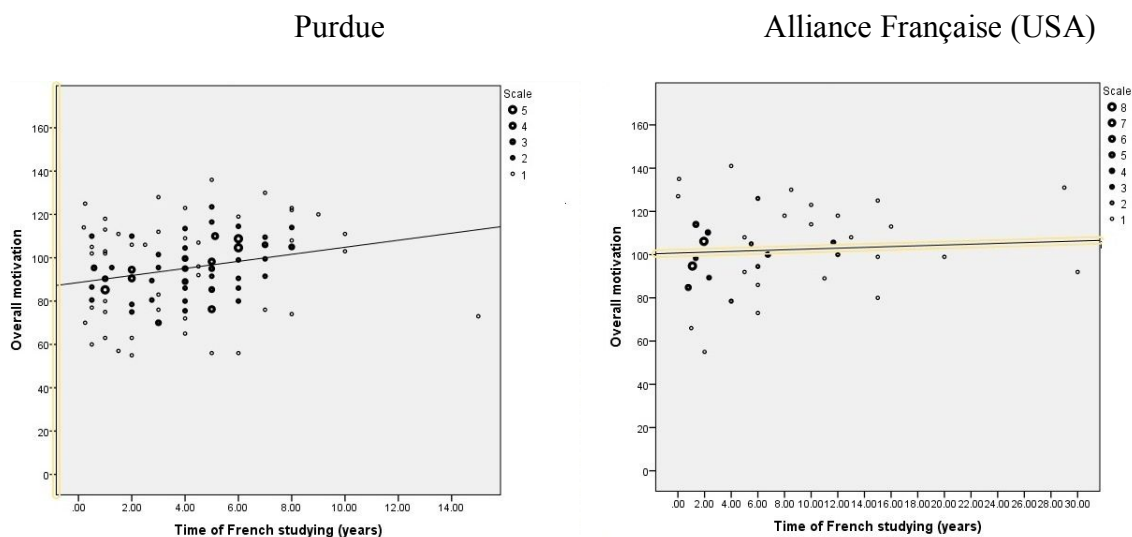


Figure 29: Correlation of overall motivation with Time of Studying French. Comparison of Purdue students and Alliance Française (USA) learners

At Alliance Française the starting level is clearly higher, ca. 100. However, this high level of motivation appears to be near-constant ($r = .09$; $p = .42$). This leads us to suggest that motivation of students learning a foreign language voluntarily remains stable throughout all period of studies. This is a remarkable point. One could suggest that after several years of studying it becomes difficult or even impossible for adult learners to further improve their French. Even maintaining the language outside of the L2

environment can be a challenge for those learners who juggle family responsibilities and demands of a full-time job.³⁵

4.8. American private courses students vs. Russian private courses students of French

4.8.1. Motivational ranking

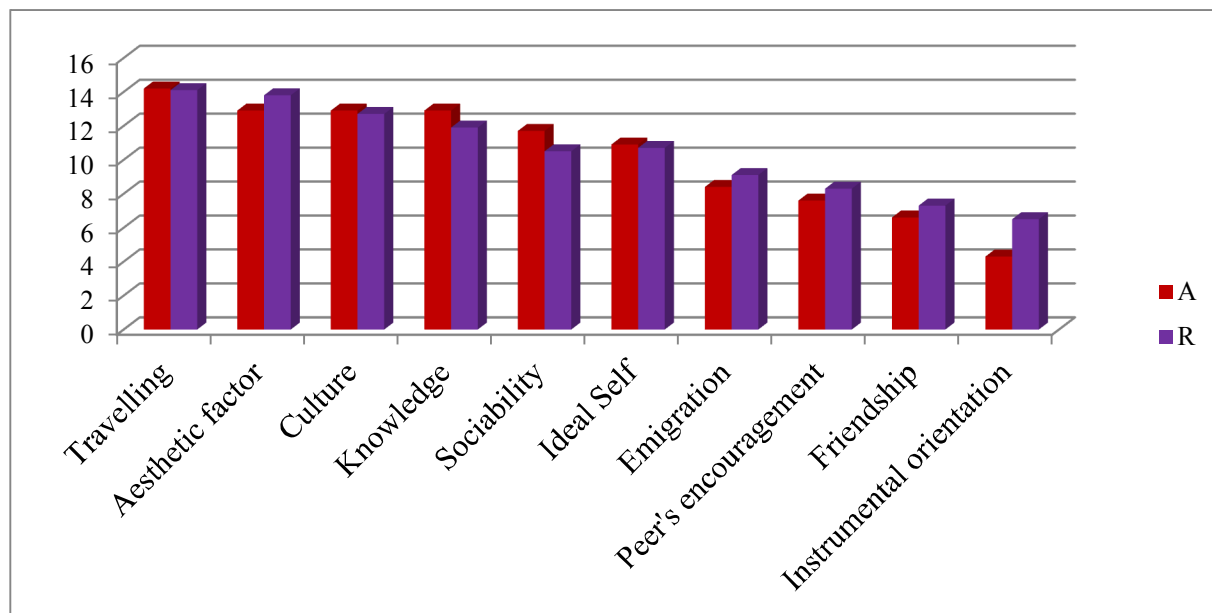


Figure 30: The comparison of mean motivation scores of Alliance Française (USA) vs. Alliance Française (Russia) students

Overall motivational score of Alliance Française students in the USA and in Russia turned out to be similar (statistically indistinguishable): 102.2/160 vs. 104.9/160, respectively ($p = .18$). Furthermore, as illustrated in Figure 30, both American and Russian learners produced one and the same motivational ranking, which starts with Travelling and ends with Instrumental orientation. This is a remarkable result. Previously we have seen that American and Russian college students reported near-identical motivation ranking. In part, this latter result can be attributed to cultural globalization as

³⁵ It would be desirable to study a bigger sample of Alliance Française students in order to strengthen these conclusions.

teenagers listen to the same music, play the same videogames, watch the same movies, etc. It is therefore even more surprising to find that older learners also report identical LLM rankings. Recall that the average age of Russian Alliance Française students was 31, whereas the average age of their American counterparts was 45. For many American participants the formative years were in the 1970-ies and 1980-ies, when the world had not yet experienced the full power of globalization. Nevertheless they reported the same motivational ranking as Russian learners who came from a very different cultural background. This remarkable result has a number of potential practical implications (e.g. with respect to FLA curricula and textbook design).

A closer look at different motivational orientations finds a number of statistically significant differences between American and Russian respondents, as summarized in Table 27. The Alliance Française students in the US gave higher scores to Knowledge and Sociability, whereas in Russia they felt stronger about the Aesthetic Factors, Peers' Encouragement, and Instrumental motives. These differences are rationalized in the following discussion.

Table 27: The comparison of overall mean scores for Alliance Française (USA) students and Alliance Française (Russia) students on ten motivational orientations

Motivational orientation	Alliance Française (USA)	Alliance Française (Russia)	Significance
Travelling	14.2	14.1	.763
Aesthetic Factors	12.9	13.8	.003
Culture	12.9	12.7	.609
Knowledge	12.9	11.9	.001
Sociability	11.7	10.5	.001
Ideal Self	10.9	10.7	.497
Emigration	8.4	9.1	.129
Peer's encouragement	7.6	8.3	.047
Friendship	6.6	7.3	.106
Instrumental orientation	4.3	6.5	.000

Those correlations that are statistically significant are highlighted.

Aesthetic Factors. Qualitative data indicate that almost every interviewee both in the USA and in Russia mentions the beauty of French language as one of the prominent motivational factors for learning French. However, Russian respondents more often refer

to French popular music as an essential motivational driver. The significant presence of French ‘chanson’ in the media could be a reason why Russian respondents gave higher score to the Aesthetic Factors. For instance, one of the students at Alliance Française de St. Pétersbourg told me that her love of French language started from her interest in one French musician: “I decided to visit France because of one singer... He passed away very early, unfortunately, but France remembers him. His name is Grégory Lemarhal. He led me to discover his country and people who live there, he got me acquainted with people whom I did not know before, but they became my friends...’. Another Russian student mentioned that his interest in French language was rooted in songs of Mylène Farmer – a popular French artist and songwriter. This affection went so far that he started visiting France to go to her concerts. Finally this passion for Farmer’s music evolved into passion for the language and the country. Now this man is preparing to enter French university and plans to settle in France. The anecdotal stories like this suggest that the exposure to popular French music contributed to the high Aesthetic Factors scores among Russian participants.

Knowledge. Knowledge orientation received higher scores from the Alliance Française students in the US. To better understand this outcome let us take a closer look at the individual items representing the Knowledge orientation in the questionnaire.

	American	Russian	Sig.
I study French because I want to be a well-educated person.	3.3	3.2	.50
Learning French will help me to acquire new ideas and broaden my outlook.	3.2	3.4	.02
Learning French will make me a more knowledgeable person.	3.3	3.3	.48
I enjoy studying French because I find it challenging.	3.1	1.9	.00

As we can see, both American and Russian students of Alliance Française value the French language as a source of education, knowledge and worldly outlook. The lower combined score by the Russian participants is due entirely to the last item: “I enjoy studying French because I find it challenging”. Unfortunately, there is no good equivalent of the English word ‘challenging’ in the Russian language. Thus, the researcher translated this word into Russian as ‘difficult’. The positive connotation of the word ‘challenging’ (stimulating, inviting efforts) has been lost in this translation. Thus, Russian respondents had to agree or disagree with the statement “I enjoy studying French because I find it difficult”. The word ‘difficult’ has no positive connotations in either language and, therefore, it is not surprising that majority of Russian learners found this proposition disagreeable.

Sociability. Earlier in this chapter I suggested that American college students gave higher scores to the Sociability factor compared to their Russian counterparts because of the differences in curricula and teaching methodology. However, this explanation does not apply to Alliance Française students. Across the world, Alliance Française maintains learning centers that aim to entertain students as much as educate them, provide excellent teaching material, employ professional and enthusiastic teachers, offer a variety of courses focusing on culture, conversational French, cinema, and other topics that help to make classes fun and communicative. The researcher took French classes at Alliance Française de St. Pétersbourg herself and is ready to testify that no trace of grammar translation methodology is to be found there. Therefore, in this case the explanation should lie elsewhere.

Most American visitors to Russia notice that Russian people look more reserved and restrained than Americans. Russians do not use a smile as a social device and greet only those people whom they know personally. McCrae and Terracciano (2005) conducted a study where they sought to construct personality profiles associated with different cultures. Toward this goal they interviewed 12,156 college students who represented a number of different cultures, asking those students to characterize one single person with whom they were closely acquainted. The results of this study related to Americans and Russians are summarized in the following table.

Aggregate factor T-scores on five-factor model of personality (McCrae & Terracciano , 2005)

	Neuroticism	Extraversion	Openness to Experience	Agreeableness	Conscientiousness
Americans	48.1	52.2	50.4	49.1	48.8
Russians	51.4	45.7	49.7	50.3	49.1

As can be seen from the table above, Russians are significantly more introverted and neurotic than Americans. As a consequence, they do not enjoy casual social interactions (small talk) as much. Their social interactions usually involve those people whom they know well (family, close personal friends) and not so much casual acquaintances (including classmates at Alliance Française). Hence they attach less value to the social interactions in the classroom. Interestingly, the gap between the Sociability scores in the current study is similar to the gap in the Extraversion scores in the study by McCrae (both ca. 10%).

Peers' Encouragement. The interviewed Alliance Française students from both countries indicate that their friends and families are generally positive and supportive of their studies. Answering the question “How do your friends and family feel about your studying French?” they say:

“I feel like my friends respect my interest in French language. I think this is because French is more aesthetic, one step above other languages... It is not easy and hence deserves more respect...” (Russian learner)

“They are impressed and they are jealous...Not many people in the US can speak foreign languages” (American learner)

The quantitative data indicate that Russian respondents feel more support from their social circle than their American counterparts (8.3 vs 7.6). As already mentioned, this difference could be related to the fact that Russian society feels deeper connection to France. Here is what one Russian student said about her parents' generation: “Nobody knew real France. It was loved for its movies, its music, Gérard Philipe... It was closer than Germany or awkward Great Britain... Love toward France runs through the entire Russian history...”.

On the other hand, the US respondents report both positive and negative stereotypes about France and French language. For example, one of the American interviewees made this comment: “Because I do come from working class, part of my hesitation about speaking French correctly was the feeling that I was seen stuck up, considering myself hoity-toity. A lot of people do look at those who learn French as feeling superior of everybody...there is this (sentiment) concerning French”. Such remarks mentioning negative stereotypes about French language and French people are rather common in the American qualitative data, although the participants at the same time emphasize the invariably positive view of France as a romantic country with beautiful language, fine food, fascinating art and great literature.

Instrumental orientation. Alliance Française students in Russia significantly outscore their American peers in the Instrumental category (6.5 vs 4.3). This result probably reflects the difference in the average age of the respondents in the two samples: 31 years old vs. 45 years old, respectively. The largest group in the US sample were students in their sixties (15%), whereas the largest group in the Russian sample were students in their twenties (21%). As discussed above, pragmatic motivation declines with age and is low in older learners. On the other hand the level of instrumental motivation among college students is relatively high (8.3 in Russia and 8.0 in the USA).

Younger students tend to have greater expectations and career plans. For example, one young Alliance student from St. Petersburg mentioned that she could definitely make use of French language in her professional career if ‘she could achieve high degree of proficiency in it’. Another Russian student shared her experience describing how she became interested in French language after writing a thesis about Claude Debussy. Subsequently she won a fellowship in France and came to Alliance Française in order to improve her French. It is clear that at least some of the St. Petersburg learners associate French with future career aspirations.

The picture is rather different in Alliance Française de Chicago and Alliance Française de Cincinnati. While many learners have a strong connection to France, it is a different kind of connection. One woman spent nine months in Switzerland at her aunt’s house when she was 11 years old. Another man lived in France for 14 years being a missionary. The third one was a French teacher. All of them are retirees who try to

maintain the mastery of the language by coming to the conversation class, watching French movies and visiting France from time to time. As we can see, these motives do not include any career aspirations.

It should be once again emphasized that on the absolute scale both American and Russian students at Alliance Française have very low level of Instrumental orientation. It appears that learning French is an intellectual and cultural adventure for both groups. However, Russian participants are generally younger; many of them are at the early stage of their careers. Therefore they hope to make use of their hobby in their future jobs. These expectations are reflected in their higher Instrumentality score, surpassing that of the middle-aged or retired Americans.

4.8.2. Gender differences

Gender differences are more pronounced among the students of Alliance Française in St. Petersburg. Russian women outscore men in all ten motivational categories, including four categories where the differences are statistically significant. In contrast, American women surpass men in only six categories, including two where the differences are statistically significant. Men hold an edge in four categories, including one where the difference is statistically significant (Instrumental orientation).

This disparity can probably be attributed to the age factor: the average age of the learners in the Russian sample is much lower than in the American sample, 31 vs. 45 years old. We have already noted that gender differences in motivation are more pronounced among young learners and tend to level off among professional adults, fully consistent with the current observations.

4.8.3. Intercorrelations of motivational orientations

Two clusters have been found in the motivational profiles of both American and Russian students from Alliance Française. In the case of American learners the idealistic cluster consisted of Aesthetic Factors, Culture, Knowledge, and Travelling; in addition, Ideal Self and Sociability also gravitated toward this cluster, showing partial correlations. The materialistic cluster consisted of the strongly correlated Friendship, Emigration, and Instrumental orientations. For Russian learners, the idealistic cluster was comprised of

Ideal Self, Knowledge, Travelling, and Aesthetic Factors, with partial correlations to Culture, Sociability, and Peers' Encouragement. The materialistic cluster, involving Friendship, Emigration, and Instrumental orientations showed a lower degree of intercorrelation.

The qualitative data provide an interesting insight into these data. There are a number of people among American participants with strong material ties to France, offering comments such as: "I have a house in France", "My husband is French", or "I work in French restaurant". For these people the issues of emigration, personal relationships with Francophones, and using French at work are all intertwined, leading to strong intercorrelations within the materialistic cluster. Generally, Americans demonstrate a higher level of intercorrelation in their answer; in other words they tend to be motivated by many different factors at once. Russians tend to be more selective and more diverse in their motivational preferences.

4.8.4. Correlation between age and motivational orientations

Both American and Russian private courses students show substantial decline of motivation with age. The overall trend is more pronounced in the American sample which includes a significant number of senior citizens than in more youthful Russian sample, $r = -.41$ vs. $-.16$ (both correlations are statistically significant with $p = 0.00$). Among both American and Russian learners the most dramatic decline is observed in the two categories: Emigration and Instrumental orientation (see Table 28). The idea of moving is especially disagreeable to older Americans, whereas older Russians no longer believe that French language can be helpful in their careers. Both groups also experience considerable decline in Travelling motivation with age. Obviously, older people who have likely visited France already are not as excited about travels as young people; many are also slowed down by health issues.

On the other end of the scale there are several orientations that buck the trend and remain stable with time. For Alliance Française students in the US these are Sociability and Ideal Self, while for their Russian counterparts these are Culture, Sociability, and Aesthetic Factors. The appearance of Sociability in both lists is expectable: the opportunities for socialization oftentimes become limited for middle-aged people as well

as seniors and, therefore, they value the social interactions at Alliance Française. It is noteworthy that the factor of Ideal Self gains in relative importance among American learners, while the appreciation of Culture increases with age among Russian learners ($r = 0.17$; $p = 0.01$). Those observations add interesting details to the psychological portrait of adult L2 learners.

Table 28: Correlations of motivational scores and the age of respondents. Comparison between Alliance Française students in the USA and in Russia.

	Alliance Française (USA)		Alliance Française (Russia)	
Motivational orientation	Pearson correlation	Significance	Pearson correlation	Significance
Emigration	-.58	.00	-.24	.00
Instrumental orientation	-.35	.00	-.46	.00
Aesthetic Factors	-.29	.01	.03	.64
Friendship	-.23	.05	-.01	.89
Culture	-.23	.04	.17	.01
Knowledge	-.11	.34	-.12	.06
Sociability	.03	.79	.09	.17
Travelling	-.21	.07	-.23	.00
Ideal Self	.02	.89	-.05	.44
Peers' Encouragement	-.07	.53	-.04	.53

Those correlations that are statistically significant are highlighted (pink for negative correlations, blue for positive correlations).

4.8.5. Correlations of motivational orientations with Time of Studying French

The data from private courses did not confirm the hypothesis that Motivational orientations change with Time of Studying French. No significant correlation was found for American students of Alliance Française. Russian sample demonstrated the same tendency with one exception for Emigration factor showing a weak but significant negative correlation with Time of Studying French ($r = -.14$, $p = .03$).

The author hypothesized that the observed lack of correlation could be a consequence of the long time of language studies. Usually significant changes in motivation can be observed during the first several years of foreign language learning. To

test this hypothesis I limited the analysis to those Alliance Française students who study French for less than 8 years. However, even in this case no significant correlation was found between overall motivation and the Time of studying French ($r = .06$ and $.03$ for American and Russian samples, respectively).

As one remembers, private courses students study French voluntarily and hence they have a high degree of motivation. Indeed, this hobby requires much time, money and efforts. Nevertheless students are ready to pay, to spend their free time, to come after their work to the French learning center in order to investigate the details of French language. Those who are not motivated enough can give it up any moment. In this situation, it could be probably logical that both beginners and advanced learners have the same, rather high level of motivation.

4.9. Summary of Chapter 4.

This chapter displayed the quantitative and qualitative results of the current study. All four groups of participants provided very similar motivational ranking topped by Travelling orientation and by Idealistic cluster of motivational orientations.

Regarding gender differences in motivational orientations, it was found that they are less pronounced among private courses' students of French comparing to their college counterparts.

The data did not confirm that Time of studying French could be a significant factor increasing LLM. Only one of four groups of participants demonstrated a significant positive correlation between Time of studying French and overall motivation.

In regard to age differences in motivation it was found that overall level of motivation tends to decline with age.

In the following chapter the final conclusions, limitations of the study and the implications of the study for teaching practices will be discussed.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter provides the concluding remarks, describes the limitations of the current study, and outlines the implications of the study for teaching practices.

5.2. Conclusions

This study sought to examine and compare motivational orientations of French learners across different dimensions: cultural background (USA vs. Russia), educational modality and age (college students vs. private courses learners), gender, and time of studying foreign language. Let me answer the research questions that were base for the current study:

1) What motivational orientations are considered to be most important by American and Russian learners of French? Are they similar for both countries? If not, how the differences could be explained?

Despite differences in nationality, age, educational background and learning experience, all groups of participants produced nearly identical motivational rankings. The rankings are topped by the Travelling orientation, which seems to be universally appealing although hardly the main reason to study French. Beyond the travel motive the rankings are dominated by Idealistic motivational cluster (Aesthetic Factors, Culture, Knowledge, and Ideal Self); this disposition is also confirmed by the qualitative data. The Pragmatic motivational cluster (Instrumental orientation, which is sometimes coupled to Emigration and Friendship dimensions) is by far less important.

With regard to specific orientations it has been found that US learners score consistently higher on the scale of Sociability motivation. It is known that Americans attach significant value to a lively conversation in a semi-informal setting. Furthermore, college curricula in the US are designed such as to stimulate social interactions between students. On the other hand, Russians score higher in the Peers' Encouragement and Aesthetic rubrics. The former tendency can be traced to the generally more favorable view of France in the Russian society and deeper cultural connections; the latter is likely

due to the popularity of French pop music. Therefore, the motivational profiles of American and Russian learners are to some degree influenced by the cultural differences between the two countries, but overall remain strikingly similar.

2) Are there any significant differences in motivational orientations to study French between college students and private courses' learners?

The most obvious difference between college students and private courses learners concerns Instrumental orientation. While the Instrumental score of the college students is moderate (ranked 7 out of 10), it was found to be extremely low for Alliance Française learners (ranked 10 out of 10). Clearly, older students at Alliance Française view French as a hobby and do not expect to benefit from it.

Of additional interest, we have found that in the Alliance Française sample the Instrumental score correlates with the Emigration and Friendship scores. This reflects the real-life circumstances of the adult learners, e.g. those students who have a French spouse are also likely to ponder emigration and, therefore, think about their future employment in France which would require fluency in French. On the other hand, young college students do not see a connection between their personal relationships, plans to live in a different country, and job expectations. Consequently, their data show no correlation between the Instrumental, Emigration, and Friendship orientations.

3) Do motivational orientations for learning French depend on gender factor?

The author hypothesized that gender differences in academic motivation are a function of age, i.e. that they may be less pronounced among adult learners than college students. However, the data obtained in the current study do not support this hypothesis. The gender differences prove to be statistically significant among both college students and adult learners. For example, overall motivation score of the female college students is appreciably higher than that of the male students, 99.1 vs. 91.5 ($p = .00$) for US and Russia samples combined. The same pattern is observed among adult learners: the motivation score of female Alliance Française participants is significantly higher than that of their male counterparts, 105.4 vs. 96.9 ($p = .00$) for US and Russia samples combined.

These results do not necessarily imply that women are always more motivated than men. It may be that male students have different sources of motivation that so far

remain unidentified. This study shows that male students appear to be more personable, e.g. among American students males (both in college and private courses groups) outscore females in the Friendship category, whereas among Russian college students males scored higher than females on the Sociability scale. Furthermore, among US Alliance Française learners, males score slightly higher than females in the Peer Encouragement rubric. Even though these scores fail to attain the level of statistical significance, they point toward a potentially substantive trend.

4) How do motivational orientations for learning French correlate with the learners' age?

This study traces the evolution of language-learning motivation from college to retirement. In these age brackets the motivation generally declines with age. The Instrumental orientation, Emigration orientation, and Travelling orientation are particularly strongly affected. Clearly, older learners do not see how the French language can benefit their careers, are less open to the idea of relocating to a different country, are less excitable about travel, or sometimes are slowed down by advanced age. On the other hand, a few orientations, e.g. Sociability and Culture, retain their importance for older learners.

5) Do motivational orientations change with the Time of Studying French?

Long time of studying a language is not necessarily accompanied by an increase in motivation. Rather the relationship between time of language learning and the level of motivation appears to depend on the specific circumstances, such as the venue, course program etc. As shown above, among the four groups of participants only American college students demonstrated positive correlation between the Time of Studying French and overall motivation. For private courses students no correlation has been found in either country. It can be suggested that motivation level of Alliance Français learners remains high throughout the entire period of studies, leaving little room for improvement.

5.3. Limitations of the Current Study

While the total size of the sample in the current study is very respectable, N=613, for certain specific categories of learners the statistics is problematic. For example, the sample size of the Alliance Française group in the USA is relatively small (N=80)

compared to the Russian Alliance Française group (N=257). This issue was unfortunately out of the author's control. The collection of the data from Alliance Française in the USA was complicated considering that both regional centers, in Chicago and in Cincinnati, are located fairly far from West Lafayette. In the case of Alliance Française de Chicago the researcher was able to distribute the questionnaire only on the weekends. Although there is no evidence for that, this might have biased the statistics (i.e. it cannot be ruled out that Alliance Française students attending classes on Saturday are somehow systematically different from those who attend classes during the weekdays).

The limited statistics are particularly problematic in the case of male learners. Men are clearly a small minority in the Alliance Française classes (23% in the American sample and only 9% in the Russian group). While the dominance of women learners at the private courses of French constitutes an interesting descriptive result, the small number of men makes it difficult to interpret the gender differences.

As discussed in the text of this thesis, the study revealed certain aspects of the questionnaire that in future can be clarified and/or improved. The Instrumental orientation contains a pair of questions pertaining to the job category and another pair of questions pertaining to the exam category. While the latter is relevant for college students, it is largely inconsequential for Alliance Française learners. Likewise, the Friendship orientation combines somewhat disparate items such as being open to an idea of making friends with French-speaking people and having a French-speaking spouse. There is also an additional level of complexity associated with translation of the questionnaire from English into Russian. For example, as described in section 5.4.1, translating the word 'challenging' as 'difficult' had certain unintended impact on the results of the survey.

Finally, I would like to emphasize that the current study does not tend to make any generalizations about American and Russian French learners. The presented results concern only the participants of my study and could vary if I had subjects from other cities (i.e. New-York instead of West Lafayette or Vladivostok instead of St. Petersburg). The further research has to reveal if the current findings can be relevant for French learners from different cultural backgrounds.

5.4. Implications for pedagogy

Every teacher knows that highly motivated student is almost always a good student. However, we often lack an exact knowledge of what makes our students motivated and helps to maintain a high level of motivation through multiple years of studies – particularly in the area of language acquisition. Knowing the main sources of motivation should allow us to design better instruction strategies, tailored to the perceived needs of learners, and ultimately increase the success of language teaching. The results of the proposed study could form a basis for a set of practical recommendations concerning both classroom and distance teaching.

For example, the current study underscores the importance of Travel, Aesthetic, and Culture factors. It may be that emphasizing these three aspects would make French lessons more enjoyable for both students and instructors.

The fact that learners attach high value to the (classroom) Sociability factor should give food for thought to those university administrators who actively promote on-line courses. Distance learning can deprive students of positive experiences associated with their interactions with classmates and thus decrease their level of satisfaction. To alleviate this problem, distance learning can be also organized as a team work, which is conducive to the social interactions desired by students. Communication in French should tap into Ideal Self motivation, demonstrating students' ability to talk to their peers in French, which is consistent with their self-image as educated and sophisticated persons.

These are just some hypothetical examples of how the proposed research can be translated into an efficient teaching model, which also increases the learners' level of satisfaction. It would be naïve to exaggerate a potential effect of such innovations. Clearly, “good teacher” remains one single most important factor in successful language acquisition. Yet, practical suggestions like this that are rooted in rigorous motivation research can make language teaching more efficient and more enjoyable to all parties involved.

APPENDIX A: LANGUAGE LEARNING MOTIVATION QUESTIONNAIRE IN ENGLISH

I) Instrumental orientation: job or study (adapted from Schmidt *et al.*)

- 1) I study French because it can help me to find a good job.
- 2) Increasing my French proficiency will have financial benefits for me.
- 3) I study French because of language requirements.
- 4) The main reason I need to learn French is to pass examination.

II) Emigration (adapted from Schmidt *et al.*)

- 1) I want to learn French because I would like to emigrate.
- 2) I study French because I would like to move to France.
- 3) I am learning French because I would like to spend time in French speaking countries.
- 4) I think it would be nice to live in France that is why I learn French.

III) Friendship and romantic relationship

- 1) I study French because I would like to make friends with some speakers of the this language
- 2) I am learning French because I have French speaking friends.
- 3) I want to learn French because I would like to meet a girlfriend/boyfriend from French speaking country.
- 4) I am studying French because I have a girlfriend/boyfriend from French speaking country.

IV) Knowledge (adapted from Clément and Kruidenier)

- 1) I study French because I want to be a well-educated person.
- 2) It will help me acquire new ideas and broaden my outlook.
- 3) It will make me a more knowledgeable person.
- 4) I like challenging that I have studying French.

V) Travel (adapted from Clément and Kruidenier)

- 1) I would like to go to France.

- 2) It will help me if I should ever travel.
- 3) I would like to travel to a French-speaking area.
- 4) I would like to visit Francophone countries.

VI) Ideal L2 Self (adapted from Dörnyei's study)

- 1) I can imagine myself speaking French and impressing my friends.
- 2) Being able to speak French is good for my self-respect.
- 3) I imagine myself as someone who is able to speak French.
- 4) I feel that studying French makes my life more meaningful.

VII) Aesthetic Factors (Kissau)

- 1) French is a gentle and pleasant-sounding language.
- 2) I learn French because it is a beautiful language.
- 3) French is a refined language and this is why I enjoy speaking it.
- 4) French language sounds so romantic!

VIII) Peers' Encouragement (partly adapted from Kissau)

- 1) My friends encourage me to learn French.
- 2) I think my friends feel it is important to learn French.
- 3) I study French because my friends study this language.
- 4) I feel that my friends respect me more knowing that I study French.

IX) Sociability (adapted from Schmidt *et al.*)

- 1) One reason I learn English is that I can meet new people and make friends in class.
- 2) My relationship with my French course classmates is important to me.
- 3) One of the most important things in this class is getting along with other students.
- 4) I like to be able to contact new and interesting people in my French course.

X) Cultural interest

- 1) I like to watch French movies and listen to French music.
- 2) I think that French culture is great.
- 3) I am interested to know more about French culture.
- 4) I admire French painting and literature.

APPENDIX B: LANGUAGE LEARNING MOTIVATION

QUESTIONNAIRE IN RUSSIAN LANGUAGE

I) Инструментальная мотивация (Schmidt *et al.*)

- 1) Я изучаю французский, потому что это поможет найти мне хорошую работу.
- 2) Знание французского принесет мне финансовую выгоду.
- 3) Я занимаюсь французским главным образом потому, что мне нужно сдать экзамен.
- 4) Я изучаю французский, потому что он входит в мою учебную программу.

II) Эмиграция (Schmidt *et al.*)

- 1) Я изучаю французский, потому что хотел бы эмигрировать во франкоязычную страну.
- 2) Я учу французский, так как хотел бы переехать во Францию.
- 3) Я изучаю французский, так как хотел бы проводить время в странах, где говорят по-французски.
- 4) Было бы здорово жить во Франции, поэтому я изучаю французский.

III) Дружба и романтические отношения (partly adapted from Clément and Kruidenier)

- 1) Я изучаю французский, потому что у меня есть друзья, говорящие на французском.
- 2) Я изучаю французский, потому что мне хотелось бы подружиться с франкоговорящими людьми.
- 3) Возможность романтических отношений с французами – еще одна причина, по которой я изучаю французский.
- 4) Я занимаюсь французским, потому что для моей девушки/ молодого человека (мужа/ жены) французский – родной язык.

IV) Знания (adapted from Clément and Kruidenier)

- 1) Мне нравится изучать французский, потому что это сложный язык.
- 2) Знание французского делает меня более образованным человеком.

- 3) Изучение французского расширяет мой кругозор.
- 4) Я изучаю французский, потому что хочу быть образованным человеком.

V) Путешествия (adapted from Clément and Kruidenier)

- 1) Я бы хотел(а) посетить франкоязычные страны.
- 2) Мне бы хотелось посетить места, где говорят на французском.
- 3) Я бы хотел съездить во Францию.
- 4) Знание французского поможет мне, когда я буду путешествовать.

VI) Идеальный Я (adapted from Dörnyei's study)

- 1) Знание французского повышает мою самооценку.
- 2) Я могу представить, как я прекрасно говорю по-французски и произвожу впечатление на своих друзей.
- 3) Мне кажется, что изучение французского наполняет мою жизнь смыслом.
- 4) Мне нравится думать о себе как о человеке, который говорит по-французски.

VII) Эстетический фактор (partly adapted from Kissau)

- 1) Французский язык звучит очень романтично!
- 2) Французский – изящный язык, и я получаю удовольствие от того, что могу говорить на нем.
- 3) Мне нравится слышать французскую речь.
- 4) Я изучаю французский, потому что это красивый язык.

VIII) Поддержка друзей (partly adapted from Kissau)

- 1) У моих друзей вызывает уважение тот факт, что я изучаю французский.
- 2) Я изучаю французский, потому что мои друзья тоже учат этот язык.
- 3) Друзья поддерживают мой интерес к изучению французского.
- 4) Мне кажется, друзья разделяют мою мысль о том, что стоит заниматься французским.

IX) Общение (adapted from Schmidt *et al.*)

- 1) Мне нравится, что на уроках французского я имею возможность познакомиться с другими студентами.
- 2) Мне нравится встречаться с новыми и интересными людьми на уроках французского языка.
- 3) Я могу встретить новых друзей на занятиях по французскому языку.
- 4) Мне нравятся студенты из моей группы французского, и я получаю удовольствие, проводя с ними время.

X) Культура

- 1) Мне нравится смотреть французские фильмы и слушать французскую музыку.
- 2) Я думаю, что французская культура – великая культура.
- 3) Я бы хотел лучше узнать французскую культуру.
- 4) Я восхищаюсь французской живописью и литературой.

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